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AR WARS, SI!
—See page 48

NATIONAL REVIEW

THE AWFUL ADVENT OF

Senator Tom Harkin

WHO HAS-UGH-FIVE YEARS MORE TO HELP

Ruin the Republic

Richard Brookhiser

REAGAN'S TAX PLAN—

The Morning After

By Tom Bethell

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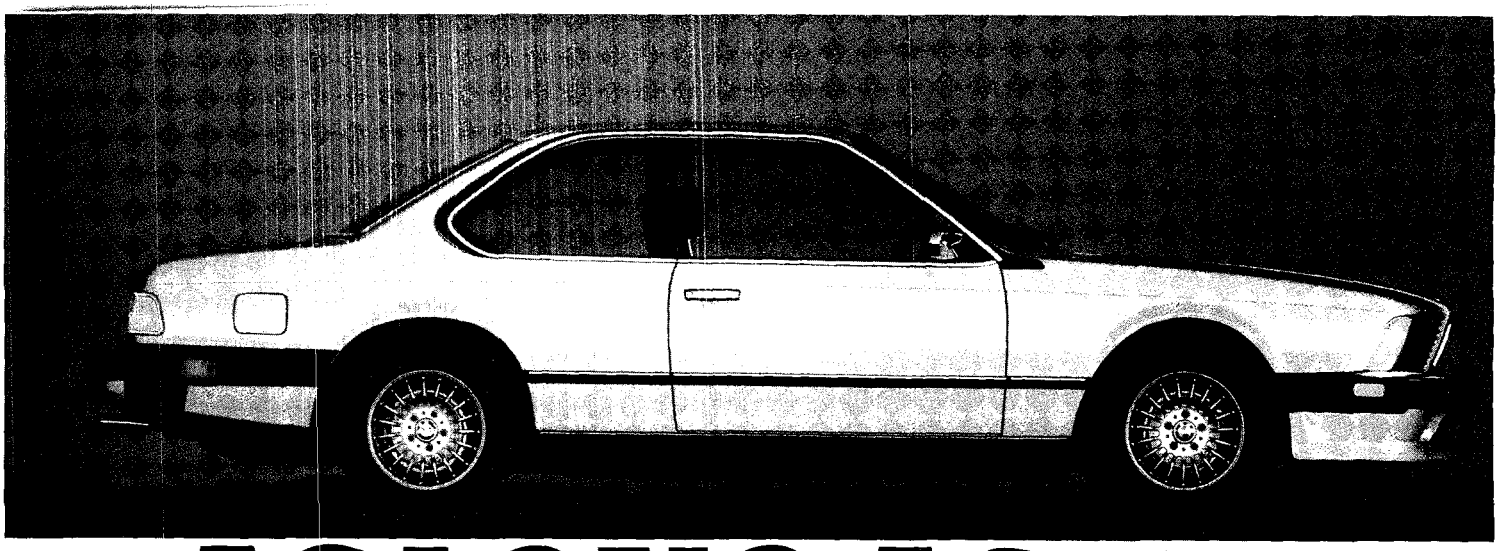

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In the case of the 635CSi, the ideal is a very aristocratic one: the European Grand Touring tradition, combining uncommon style and luxury with definitive performance.

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The coupe's new 3.5-liter power plant propels it from 0 to 60 in 7.8 seconds. A prowess abetted by a fuel management system that adjusts fuel delivery and ignition timing hundreds of times a second.

You should also appreciate another new 635CSi feature: a computerized ABS anti-lock braking system.

Operating on the same principle that brings jet aircraft to a halt, it prevents brake-locking. And permits steering even during panic stops.

The new 635CSi, in sum, confirms the BMW coupe's position as "the benchmark" without which "you won't know how to judge anything else" (AutoWeek on the 633CSi).

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A handful are at BMW dealers now, awaiting test drives by automotive enthusiasts who also do not have to report to accountants.

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LETTERS

One Good Turn . . .

It strikes me as ironic that the same crowd that speaks disparagingly about having an actor in the White House stages hearings to accommodate the testimony of three left-wing actresses (activists?) about the Administration's farm policy. As Henry J. Hyde says ["One and a Half Cheers for David Stockman," June 28], I suppose I shouldn't be surprised about Jane Fonda—after all, her father played Tom Joad in *The Grapes of Wrath* . . .

I know my complaints will be ignored, so I have a suggestion for the Republicans: Invite Sylvester Stallone to testify before the Foreign Relations Committee about Southeast Asia, or get Clint Eastwood to tell the Judiciary Committee about crime.

Nadine Melnikoff
New York, N.Y.

The Superkillers

In his article comparing Hitler and Stalin ["Hitler & Stalin—Twentieth-Century Superkillers," May 31], Eugene H. Methvin develops several interesting and well-founded points as to why the quantitatively more diabolical Stalin has not attracted the same fascination and vilification in the West that Hitler has. One of these points, however, was tenuous. Methvin states that Marxism has a link with Western philosophy that makes for a certain kinship between Westerners and Marxists, whereas Nazism has no such link.

Contrary to Mr. Methvin's assertion, both Nazism and Marxism were rooted in the same anti-Enlightenment, anti-Western philosophy. Both ideologies advocated an anti-individualistic social philosophy in which the whole of society is the primary unit and the individual is only a means to a more ethical communal life. This social philosophy can be traced back to the Greeks and, in the modern age, to Hegel and Rousseau (both anti-Western philosophers). Marxism and Nazism built on this foundation in different ways, but at the core both were always opposed to the Western tradition.

Richard Brown
Babylon, N.Y.

Eugene Methvin's article "Hitler & Stalin—Twentieth-Century Superkillers" was good, but why was Mao omitted? He is believed to have killed from twenty million Chinese upward between 1949 and his death in 1976. Why leave him out?

J. R. Caldwell
Jacksonville, Fla.

The article by Eugene Methvin is as accurate as it is sorrowful. His nuanced appraisal of why Hitler and Stalin are perceived differently, evidence notwithstanding, raises disturbing thoughts at ideological and media levels alike. But I should simply point out that Josef G. Dyadkin's manuscript on *Unnatural Deaths in the USSR, 1928-54*, containing Nick Everstadt's introduction (cited in the article), was indeed "published in the West in 1983," by Transaction Books (New Brunswick, N.J., and Oxford, England). "The West" is a big place.

Irving Louis Horowitz
Transaction Publishers
New Brunswick, N.J.

On Treacherous Ground

In analyzing the supposed flaws of F. A. Hayek ["The Achilles Heel of F. A. Hayek," May 17], Marlo Lewis Jr. is guilty of the same error he lays at the feet of the author of *The Road to Serfdom*. After chronicling the frightening Soviet arms buildup of the past thirty years, Lewis asserts: "Clearly, it will take far more than the spontaneous interplay of economic forces to prevent the Soviets from burying us . . ." Quite true, and yet, what has this to do with Hayek's doubts concerning natural law? One could just as easily point out that, if push came to shove, the *Contras* would probably prefer a few more RPG launchers to another copy of Locke's *Second Treatise on Civil Government*.

Mr. Lewis states that the arguments of natural law are the only way to defend freedom against Marxist analysis. Nothing could be further from the truth. One who believes that each of us is born with *inalienable* rights and protections clearly has nothing at all to discuss with a person who claims it is the state's business to dole out these "privileges" as it sees fit. There is no common ground for a discussion.

Hayek's achievement has been to combat socialist thinking *on its own terms*. Willing to set aside the question of the origins of personal freedoms, he has convincingly demonstrated that central plan-

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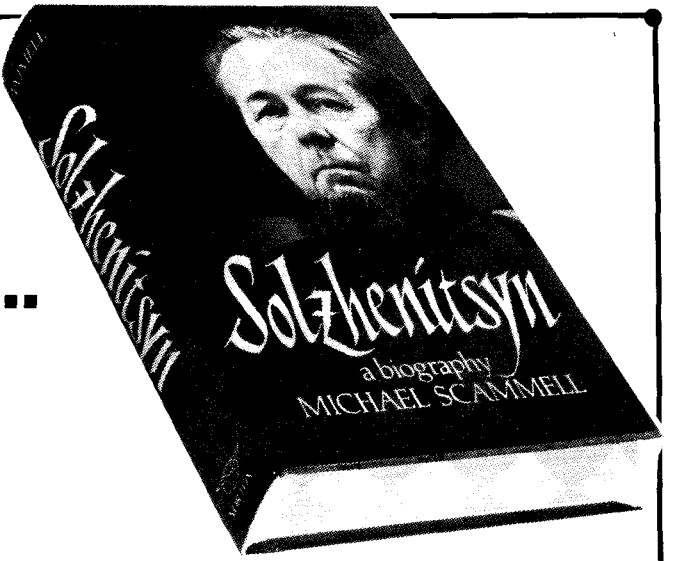

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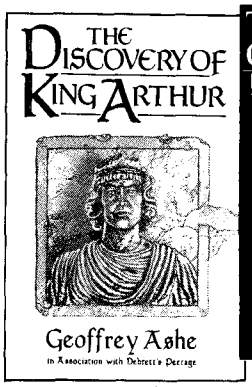

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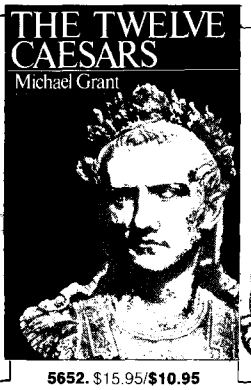

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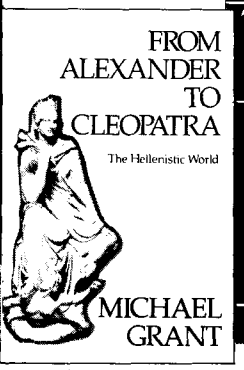

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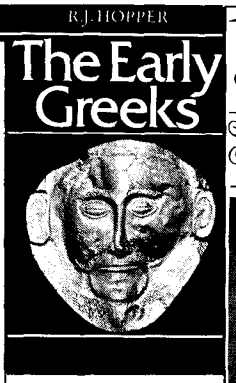

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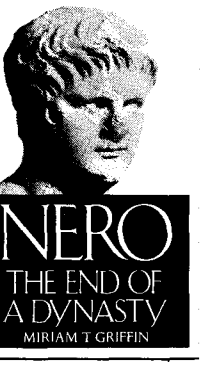

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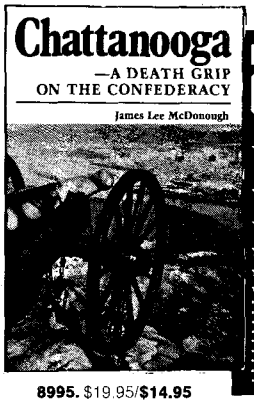

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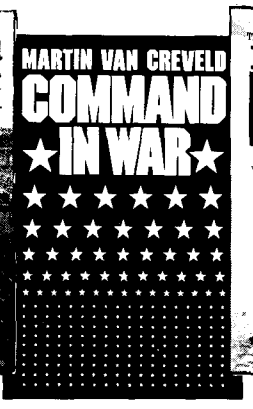

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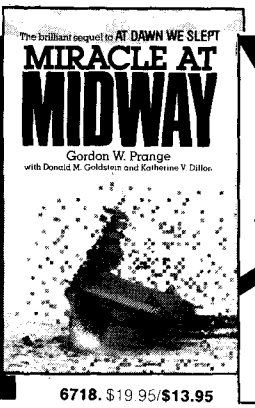
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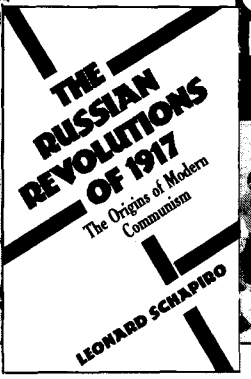

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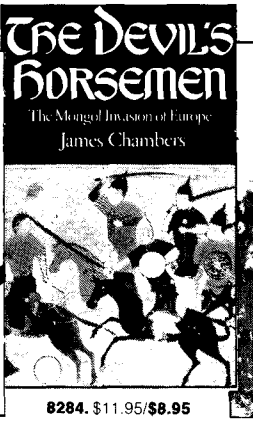

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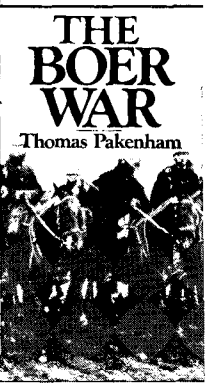

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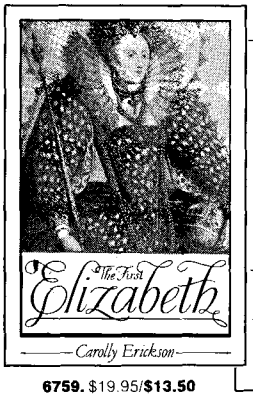

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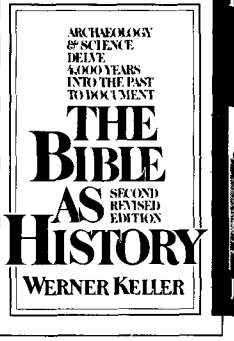
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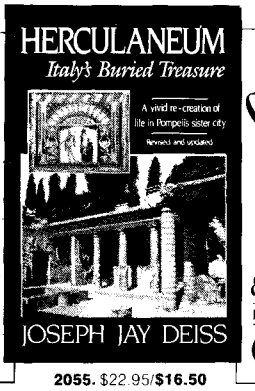

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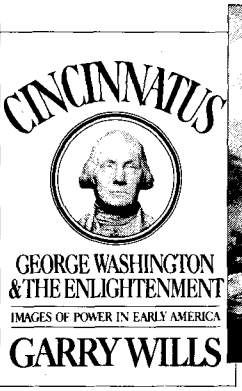

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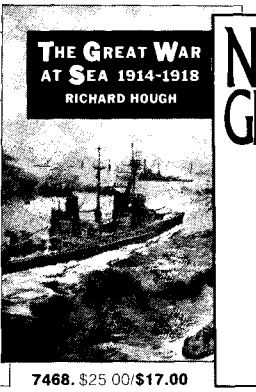

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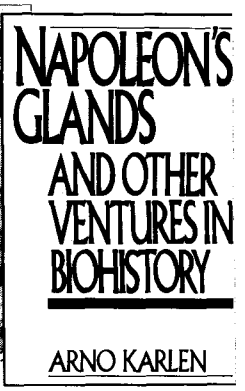

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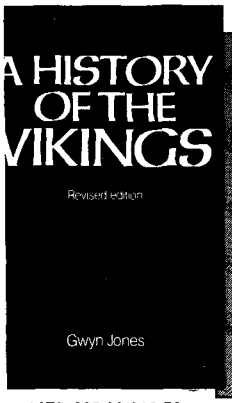

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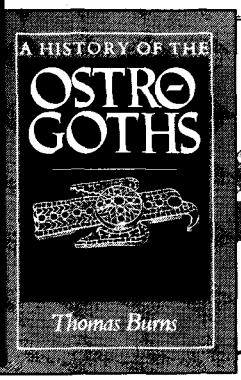

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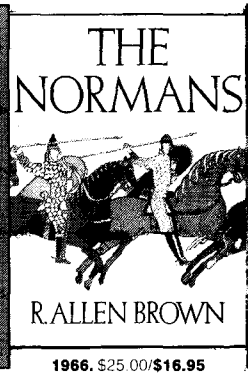

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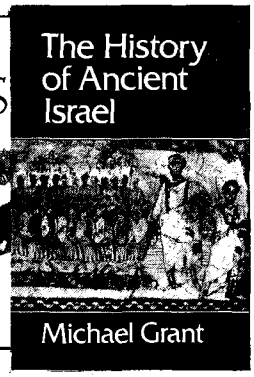

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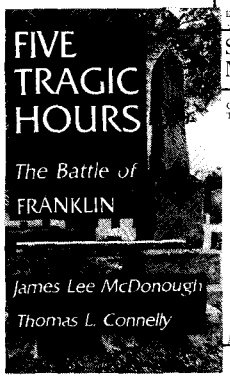

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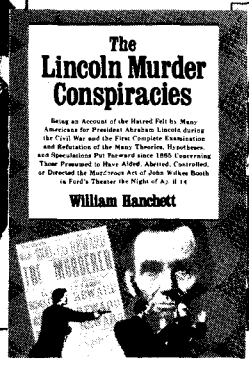

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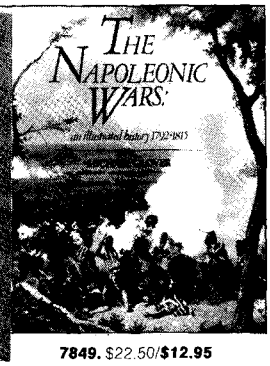

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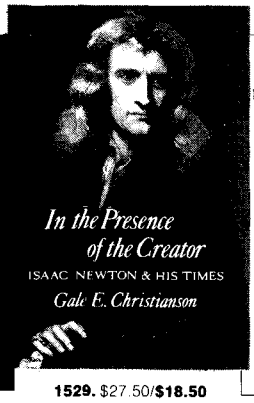

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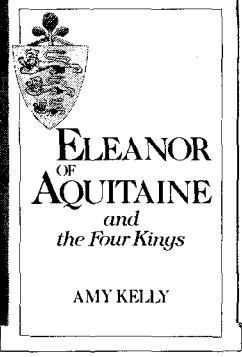

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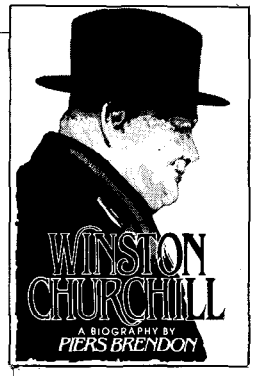

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ning, even assuming the most benevolent intentions, can only result in tyranny. Proponents of natural law, including Mr. Lewis and myself, understand this intuitively. Hayek's apostolate, however, has taken him onto more treacherous ground, and *The Road to Serfdom*, published in 1944, continues to be both impassioned and convincing.

Robert O. Artner III
Louisville, Ky.

Marlo Lewis's argument, boiled down, is that Hayek's problem is that he is not a Christian, and therefore cannot accurately explain how we've arrived at our sense of right and wrong. In a Heritage Foundation lecture, the subject of Lewis's article, Hayek assigns the development of our moral sense to an evolutionary, trial-and-error process resembling the free market. In other words, Hayek does not believe our understanding of right and wrong comes from God, although he believes religion indispensable to moral order.

But Lewis misses the entire point of Hayek's work, which is to demonstrate that liberty is superior in every respect to its opposite. Hayek shows that not only is the free market the best economic system for producing wealth, it also provides incentives for better behavior.

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No one doubts, for example, that the ethos of the ghetto is different from the ethos outside it. Paying people not to work has created a vast tax-free black-market economy, which includes drugs, prostitution, and racketeering. By changing the economic rules of their world, government has changed the behavior of low-income people, even altered their sense of right and wrong. We now have what's called "the crisis of the inner cities," documented by Charles Murray, George Gilder, Thomas Sowell, and others. But Hayek was telling us this would happen back when LBJ was winning his first landslide.

Similarly, in times of rampant inflation, people save less and consume more, squandering their earnings in an effort to get rid of their money before it declines in value. When inflation is low, people tend to hold onto their money, and invest it for their families.

So, contrary to Lewis's assertion that Hayek provides no moral justification for liberty, demonstrating its moral efficacy is the point of the entirety of his work.

Benjamin Hart
Washington, D.C.

Where Dat?

The column by William F. Rickenbacker about his subconscious ["Who Dat?" May 17] was interesting, but he had better not depend upon his "entertainment committee" too strongly. It told him that the four towns in Connecticut with only four letters in their names were Avon, Kent, Lyme, and Troy. There is no Troy in Connecticut, unless it has just been created.

L. S. Brigham
Montpelier, Vt.

Ill Tidings

The action of Paul D. Grossman (Grossperson?) ["The Week," June 14] in criticizing items in the university catalogue and requesting revision reminds one of the proposition of Sir Thomas Massey-Massey that the term Christmas be changed to Christide, because of the ugly "mas" ending which suggested lingering Roman Catholicism. G. K. Chesterton is said to have replied that he thought it a splendid idea, and that the proscription of "mas" should follow a crusade which would be universal and led by Sir Thotide Tidey-Tidey.

Paul W. Carney
Cheney, Wash.

Regarding your editorial " 'Sexist' and 'Racist,' " we agree with Professor David A. Littlejohn that language should be allowed to "evolve according to normal daily usage." That is precisely why terms such as "sexist" and "chairperson" have gained currency.

Words that reflect the participation of women in society have evolved as a result of women taking a more active role in the affairs that affect all of *humanity*. It is about time that your magazine realize women and many men no longer share your outdated views in this matter. Fortunately, the English language is evolving to reflect this reality.

Stuart Massion
Evelyn Stachel
Chicago, Ill.

Board Room v. Cloister

Thank you for Michael Novak's thought-provoking column "It's Spring! Cuckoo!" [May 3]. It is about time we had a theologian representing the interests of the board room instead of the cloister or the common room. However, as a Catholic he is up against a particularly hostile tradition.

"Business," says St. Thomas, "considered in itself, has a certain baseness [*turpitudo*] inasmuch as it does not of itself involve any honorable or necessary end."

Mr. Novak would have us recognize the superiority of the capitalistic ethos as well as capitalism's superior wealth-producing capability. He proposes that the spirit dominating business-centered societies is not one of worldly calculation and cupidity, but rather the wholesome, liberating, glorious desire to produce. This is a nice notion, but it is a liberal—albeit classical liberal—one, not conservative.

T. J. Mauro
New York, N.Y.

All Too Appropriate

In reference to Mr. Buckley's column "Our Triumph in Zimbabwe" [April 5], it has long been forgotten—though probably still verifiable—that for no less than 64 years after the close of the Matabele War in 1896 no person of any race lost his life in Southern Rhodesia as a result of direct police or military action. This enviable and possibly unequaled record collapsed only about the time of the notorious Macmillan "winds of change" speech that nurtured the coming years of African disruption and disorder.

Over that long earlier period Zimbabwe was of course merely a place of ruins south of Fort Victoria; it was only much later that it became appropriate to expand the reference of that particular name to the entire country.

Hugh K. Taylor
West Vancouver, B.C.

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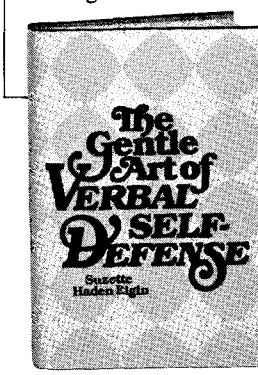
About the Author

Psycholinguist Suzette Haden Elgin has presented her innovative self-defense principles in a variety of formats. She has given workshops and seminars all over the U.S., including verbal self-defense sessions for doctors, lawyers, and other professionals. Dr. Elgin has also created a self-defense tape and a training manual for people who teach her self-defense techniques.



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326256. Ives: Symphony No. 3; Decoration Day; etc.—Bernstein, NY. Phil. (Masterworks Portrait)

318691. Prokofiev: Love For Three Oranges Suite; Lt. Kije Suite—Thomas, L.A. Phil. (CBS Masterworks)

318451. Ravel: Bolero; Pavane; Daphnis Et Chloe (Suite No. 2)—Andre Previn, London Symphony (Angel)

331447. Ravel: Ma Mere L'Oye (Mother Goose); **Le Tombeau De Couperin;** etc.—*Dutoit, Montreal* Sym. *(Digital*—London)

324533. Respighi: Feste Romane; Pines & Fountains Of Rome—Dutoit, Orch. de Montreal *(Digital*—London)

326223. Schoenberg: Pelleas & Melisande—Daniel Barenboim and Orchestre de Paris (CBS Masterworks)

324046. Shostakovich: Cello Concerto No. 1; Kabalevsky: Cello Conc. No. 1—Yo-Yo Ma, cello; Ormandy, Phila. Orch. *(Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

333450. Shostakovich: Symphony No. 8—Haitink, Amsterdam Concertgebouw *(Digital*—London)

326405. Stravinsky: The Firebird (complete ballet)—Dohnanyi; Vienna Phil. *(Digital*—London)

281493. Stravinsky: Rite Of Spring—Zubin Mehta, N.Y. Phil. (Columbia)

ROMANTICS

325282. Bruch: Violin Concerto; Lalo: Symphonie Espagnole—Francescatti; Mitropoulos, Schippers, New York Philharmonic (Masterworks Portrait)

326454. Dvorak: Cello C certo; Bruch: Kol Nidrei—Harrell, cello; Ashkenazy cond. *(Digital*—London)

333526-393520. Dvorak: Slavonic Dances (Op. 4 72); **American Suite**—Dorati, Royal Phil. (Count as 2—*Digital*—London)

325183. Dvorak: Symphony No. 9 (New World)—*Solti, Chicago Symph.* Orch. *(Digital*—London)

331090. Franck: Great Organ Works—3 Chorals others. Peter Hurford, organ *(Digital*—Argo)

228684. Grieg: Peer Gyn Suites 1 and 2; Bizet: Carmen Suites—Leonar Bernstein and the New York Phil. (Columbia)

325381. Grieg: Piano Cor certo; Schumann: Piano Concerto—Leon Fleisher Szell, Cleveland Orch. (Masterworks Portrait)

321208. Liszt: Hungarian Rhapsodies 2,3,5; Mephisto Waltz—Willi Boskovsk London Phil. (Angel)

314369. Mahler: Symphony No. 1 (Titan)—Maazel, Orch. Nat'l de France (CBS Masterwork

317685. Mahler: Symphor No. 4—Ameling; Previn, Pittsburgh Sym. (Angel)

325357. Mahler: Das Lied von der Erde—soloists, New York Philharmonic under Bruno Walter (Masterworks Portrait)

305730. Mendelssohn: Symphony No. 4 *(Italian);* **Overtures**—Andre Previn, London Symphony (Ange

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56. Mendelssohn: Summer Night's m; etc. Zinman, ester Philharmonic al—Vox Cum Laude)

8. Offenbach: Gaite enne; Saint-Saens: e Macabre; etc.— el, Orch. National ance (Columbia)

39. Rachmaninoff: test Hits—*Vocalise;* CBS Masterworks)

43. Rachmaninoff: Concertos No. 1 & 2 kenazy; Previn, on Sym. (London)

314260. Salieri: Sinfonia Veneziana; more—Pesko and London Symphony (CBS Masterworks)

234237. Schumann: Piano Concerto; Mendelssohn: Piano Concerto No. 1— Rudolf Serkin; Ormandy, Phila. Orch. (Columbia)

225888. Smetana: Moldau, Bartered Bride Overture, Dances; etc. Bernstein, N.Y. Phil. (Columbia)

310870-390872. Johann Strauss' Greatest Waltzes Ormandy, Szell, Bernstein (Count as 2—Columbia)

321844-391847. Verdi: La Traviata—Original Motion Picture Soundtrack. Starring Placido Domingo and Teresa Stratas (Counts as 2—Elektra)

310086. Wagner: Overtures *Flying Dutchman, Rienzi,* etc. Maazel, Philharmonia Orch. (Columbia)

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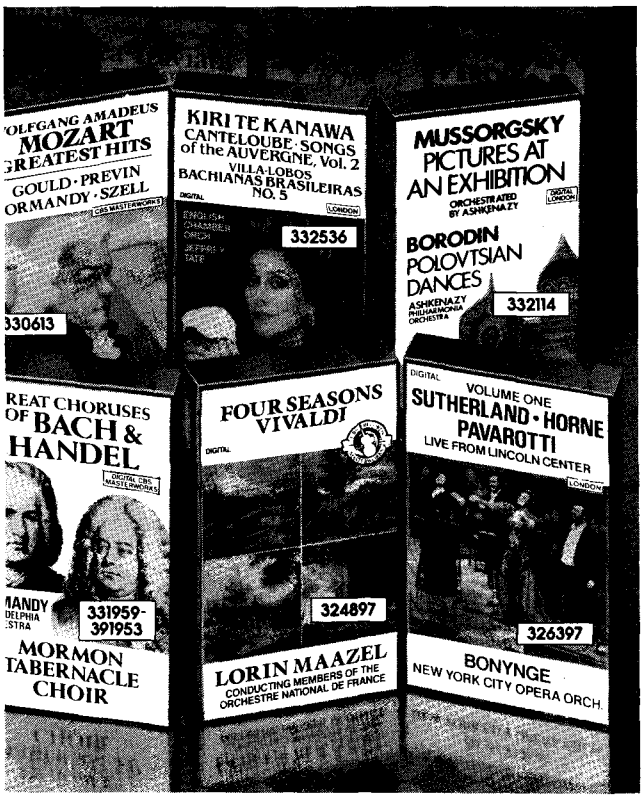

56. Rimsky-Korsakov: herazade—Yevgeny anov and the London hony Orch. (Angel)

10. Saint-Saens: ival of the Animals works by Debussy, Philip Jones Brass nble *(Digital—London)*

32. Saint-Saens: hony No. 3 (Organ)— rd; Dutoit, Montreal hony *(Digital—London)*

320424. Richard Strauss: Ein Heldenleben—Dicterow, violin; Mehta and N.Y. Phil. *(Digital—CBS Masterworks)*

202796. Richard Strauss: Also Sprach Zarathustra —Bernstein, New York Philharmonic (Columbia)

326447. Verdi: Overtures —*La Forza del Destino, I Vespri Siciliana, Nabucco,* etc. Chailly, National Philharmonic *(Digital—London)*

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331439. Isaac Stern and Alexander Zakin. Enesco: Violin Sonata No. 3; also works by Dvorak, etc. (CBS Masterworks)

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319848. Andre Watts—Live In Tokyo. Works by Ravel, Brahms, Debussy, Haydn, etc. *(Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

320895. Portrait of John Williams—*Theme from "The Deerhunter"; Fool On The Hill;* etc. (CBS Masterworks)

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320887. Kiri Te Kanawa—Verdi and Puccini Arias. Pritchard, London Phil. *(Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

324772. Kiri Te Kanawa—Songs of the Auvergne, Vol. 1—Canteloube's songs *(Digital*—London)

329722. Wagner: Lohengrin (Highlights)—Peter Hofmann, Tenor; Bayreuth Festival Orch. & Chorus (CBS Masterworks)

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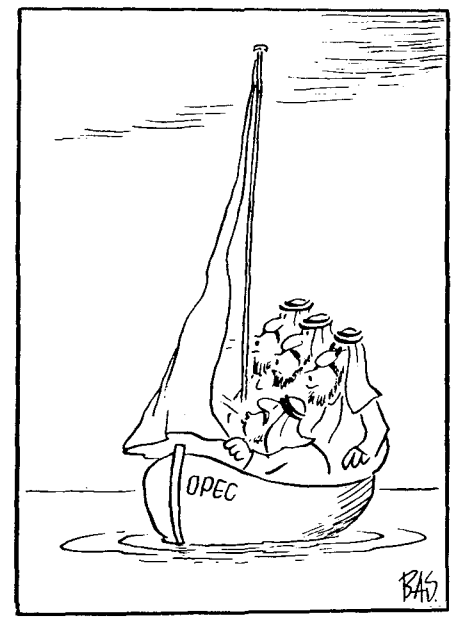
FOR THE RECORD

Big Dome analysts are concluding, after the turnabout vote on aid to the *Contras*, that the Great Communicator is also the Top Pol. Says **Lou Cannon**, a **Reagan** biographer who writes a critical weekly *Washington Post* column on Reagan: "He inhabits the real world. He remains a riddle and an enigma to many of his followers because he intuitively understands better than they do the difference between campaign rhetoric and objectives that are politically attainable." . . . Commented political analyst **William Schneider** on the *Contra* vote: "It's [Reagan's] political strategy at its best —compromising and looking as if he did not compromise"; and **James Sundquist** of liberal Brookings Institution adds: "He has a marvelous way of turning defeat into victory." . . . An American Enterprise Institute analyst points to Reagan's 50 per cent or better **Gallup** rating for past 27 months, and comments: "That's one of the longest trends at that level ever." . . . At the nuts-and-bolts level, Rep. **Dan Daniel** (D., Va.) comments that he and 72 other Democratic congressmen went the President's way on $27-million aid to *Contras* because "we can no longer temporize or compromise with Communists on our doorsteps." They don't want to be perceived as "soft on Communism." . . . Back a couple of months, **Kevin Phillips** put it this way: "Anti-patriotism simply doesn't pay in U.S. politics." . . . Republican Sens. **Steve Symms** (Idaho) and **Bill Armstrong** (Colo.), with assist from Foreign Relations Committee chairman **Richard Lugar**, scored big one when Senate voted 63 to 34 to repeal **Clark** amendment, which bars military aid to **Jonas Savimbi**, the pro-Western Angolan freedom-fighter. Question: Will the House go along? Answer: Probably not.

Richard Nixon, say **Peter Goldman** and **Tony Fuller** in *The Quest for the Presidency 1984*, believes **Mario Cuomo** is the Democrats' best bet in '88. . . . Only poll yet on that race (**Mervin Field** in California) puts Cuomo third at 21 per cent behind **Kennedy**, 33, and **Hart**, 27. (Among Republicans, same early June poll, it's **Bush**, 39; **Dole**, 14; **Howard Baker**, 11.) . . . On senatorial level, the first *New York Daily News*/Eyewitness News Poll shows Republican Sen. **Alfonse D'Amato** leading **Geraldine Ferraro** 43 to 35 in possible senatorial race next year. . . . In Massachusetts, most interest is on who will be new **Tip** when old one retires. On Republican side they're talking of **Joe Malone**, who managed **Ray Shamie**'s campaign last year. And here's a teaser: Could one of the Democratic candidates be **David Brudnoy**, *NR* contributor, talk-show host, and columnist? Brudnoy writes in a recent column: "What if a conservative or a libertarian, more identified with the GOP than the Democrats, became a Democrat and challenged the 8,745 (or however many there are) liberals for that nomination [in the 8th CD]?"

Third and most recent parley on compliance with Helsinki Accords ended in disarray in Ottawa last week when Western allies—for once—refused to go along with USSR's whitewash of its infringements of treaty's Basket Three provisions. Said British delegate Sir **Anthony Williams**: "The Soviet Union and its allies have tenaciously refused to consider seriously a single Western proposal of substance." . . . **Vietnam** has pulled out of International Labor Organization in huff, refusing to answer charges by World Confederation of Labor that it provided forced labor for Soviet gas pipeline to Europe. . . . Former **Jeane Kirkpatrick** aide at UN, Amb. **Charles Lichenstein**, points out that estimated $5 to $10 million of funds U.S. provides UN Secretariat goes to pay Soviet UN employees who are also Soviet spies. . . . Asst. Sec. of Defense **Richard Perle** says that of score or more U.S. congressmen who went to Geneva this spring to "monitor" arms-control talks, not one was interested enough in the issues to attend in-depth briefings on them. . . . But for willful ignorance, New York Rep. **Stephen Solarz** takes the cake this month. He opposes amendment by Rep. **Dan Burton** (R., Ind.) calling for a poll of black South Africans on divestiture and sanctions. Solarz says it's no use taking a poll: He wouldn't believe it if the blacks said they were against sanctions. . . . Unless **Harry Belafonte** beats Solarz out, for accepting assurances by Ethiopian Relief Commissioner **Dawit Wolde Giorgis** that "there is no problem whatsoever in Eritrea," where an anti-**Mengistu** rebellion is in progress and famine conditions are critical. Giorgis said Ethiopia would take over distribution of U.S.A. for Africa supplies that Belafonte and **Marlon Jackson**, **Michael**'s brother, had brought to Addis Ababa.

Clergy and Laity Concerned is now in recording business with song "America, America" by country and Western singer **Bob Stewart**, which, says *Daily World*, lept full-blown from head of Stewart under following touching circumstances: "It was written Thanksgiving day 1984, while Stewart was watching the televised presentation of the Kennedy Foundation's Human Rights Award to Co-Madre, the organization of Mothers of Missing Persons in El Salvador."



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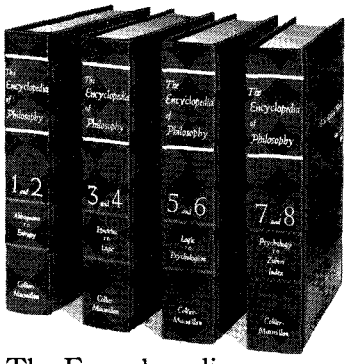

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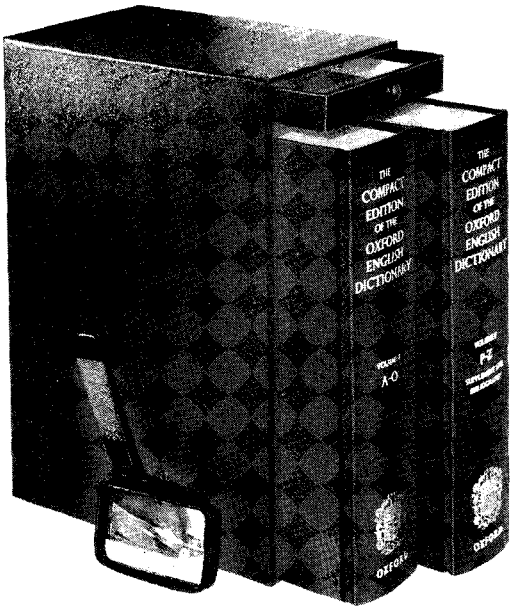
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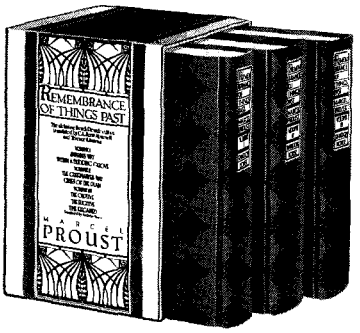

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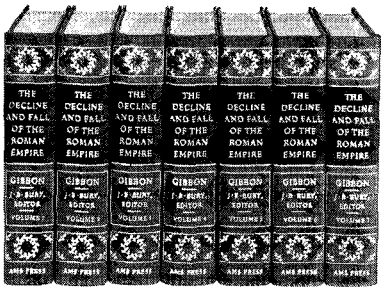

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THE WEEK

☐ Mengele's grave has been identified for two weeks now, and the President has not yet visited it. Is everyone mollified?

☐ The political debate on South Africa has hurtled left so fast that it is now the conservative position, in Congress at least, that we should impose only slow or partial economic sanctions, while the liberals want sanctions all at once. Among the proposals is one to set labor standards for U.S. firms operating in South Africa, patterned after but not identical to the widely known Sullivan Principles. As the Labor Policy Association points out, the leading Senate bill on this subject would impose a number of legal requirements that are not even found in U.S. law—proposals that previous Congresses have turned down as likely to harm the U.S. economy. The bill would index the minimum wage, require affirmative action in cases where the employer had never discriminated, compel arbitration of grievances even without no-strike pledges, and give union organizers unlimited access to a workplace during working hours. The bill may pass, on the nothing's-too-bad-for-South-Africa principle. But if conservatives roll over on this one, they are going to have to answer the question a few years hence: Why shouldn't the requirements apply here too? In response, meanwhile, South Africa always has the legal option of nationalizing all U.S. holdings, since Congress is declaring economic war.

☐ The Walker spy case has focused attention on the large number of Americans who have access to classified material. The Department of Defense is taking steps to eliminate 10 per cent of the 4.3 million security clearances now extant, and the navy will go even further, aiming for an eventual 50 per cent reduction. Some attention, however, ought to be focused on another figure: the large number of Soviet functionaries resident in the United States. The Soviet diplomatic corps in Washington and also at the United Nations is known to be replete with KGB agents whose "diplomacy" consists largely of intelligence gathering. The freedom, privileges, access, and opportunities available to these representatives of the Soviet Union far surpass those available to their American counterparts in Moscow, who tend to live a cloistered and restricted existence. While the State Department has made some efforts to address the imbalance, the double standard remains. It should be eliminated with a vengeance. Complete reciprocity is the first rule of sound diplomatic relations.

☐ America's Catholic bishops met in Collegeville, Minnesota, to ponder their forthcoming pastoral letter on the American economy. Apart from the bureaucratic tugging and shoving, it staggers the imagination that any reflective body in the twentieth century would consider committing intellectual suicide by condemning the American economy. Like the bishops' letter on nuclear war, this promises to have a textual history as tangled as *Hamlet*'s. Also like the nuclear letter, many of the preliminary leaks and interpretations have ranged from awful to ambiguous. Archbishop Weakland, director of the drafting committee, delivered a statement in the latter category, hoping that, after the bishops' work, "capitalism will . . . be seen not as a selfish, individualistic enterprise, but as one that is also concerned about the whole of society, about the good of the whole of this planet, and about the well-being of all nations." *NR*'s Michael Novak, whose patience with the bishops is surely earning him points in heaven, tried to put the best possible construction—struggle, groan—on Weakland's words, and came up with this: "That is a good statement of the fundamental aim of [the] first thinkers about a democratic and capitalist political economy: Adam Smith . . . James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson . . . Such thinkers came to be called 'liberals' [that is, classical liberals, not today's neosocialists] because their aim was to bring about two liberations: from tyranny (in politics) and from poverty (in the economy). . . . The system of the U.S. . . . is designed to foster voluntary association, teamwork, and the cooperative taking up of new tasks. . . . Where else on earth has the Catholic Church experienced better?" Novak concludes with the hope that the bishops may "grasp the secret springs of this nation's originality . . . and produce a second draft designed to reinvigorate the best that is in us." He is a man of great faith.

☐ Rajiv Gandhi wowed Washington society by looking young and vigorous, by asking questions about American technology, and by displaying his pretty,

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Italian-born wife. On the supposition that anybody who looks like us must think like us, style-watchers immediately heralded a new era of friendship between the world's most powerful and most populous democracies. But the divisions between the United States and India will not be healed by personality changes. India will preserve good relations with Moscow because the Soviet Union is an Asian power that shares long borders with India's neighbors: China, Iran, and Afghanistan. India will never overlook our ties with Pakistan, to whom we have recently promised $1.6 billion in military aid. Gandhi comes to us for technology because his Soviet friends cannot offer what we can. Meanwhile, India relies on Soviet weaponry and votes against U.S. policy 93 per cent of the time in the UN. We all desire better relations with India, but one gracious visit will not alter the equations.

☐ The State Department's annual report on votes in the UN General Assembly reveals that not only do our enemies continue to oppose us, but the record of our "friends" is only marginally better. As Senator Bob Kasten pointed out in the *New York Times* last week, countries to which the United States contributes vast amounts of foreign aid have dismal records of support for U.S. positions. Greece, nominally a NATO ally, joined with the opposition 75 per cent of the time, reminding us of who designed the Trojan Horse. Turkey, another large aid recipient, supported us only 35 per cent of the time. Egypt, whose annual aid package is exceeded only by Israel's (90 per cent support, of course), was on our side only 12.5 per cent of the time. Mexico has the dubious distinction of being outdistanced only by Cuba and Nicaragua, among countries in the Western Hemisphere, in opposition to U.S. positions: It went against us more than 90 per cent of the time. Because of the UN's impotence, these votes do not in and of themselves mean much, but what they indicate about support for the U.S. among foreign-aid recipients is disturbing. Anybody remember UNESCO?

Renault, *Sacramento Bee* / Rotheo

"KGB is delighted with secret nuclear sub plans, but they want more information about that $1,800 ashtray and $650 toilet seat."

Feeling Insecure

The barn door has been bolted;
  The padlock is in place.
Outside, an armed attendant
  Is ready to give chase.
Inside, some stalls are empty,
  Though no one's certain why,
Suggesting that the barn's been
  A juicy place to spy.

W. H. von Dreele

☐ *The Economist*, which watches these things, reports an outbreak of economic sense in the Antipodes, with the apparent carriers being Labor governments, previously germ-free. The New Zealand government of Prime Minister David Lange, in an "exhilarating dash for economic freedom," has floated the exchange rate and "abolished all the price controls, wage controls, interest-rate controls, most of the industrial subsidies, agricultural subsidies, export subsidies, and state-corporation subsidies" of its predecessor. Gradualists take note: Lange has done all this in less than a year. In a bid to compete with Singapore, he's planning across-the-board income-tax cuts and an assault on protectionism, which is to the kiwi economy what anthrax is to its leading products. Australia, moving more slowly, has been deregulating foreign exchange and banking. Can Guam and Hawaii be far behind?

☐ If you are among our many readers with feet you will want to stock up on shoes, which are about to become maybe 20 per cent more expensive, at least if President Reagan follows the advice of his International Trade Commission, which says he should guard America against the national-security menace of cheap imported sneakers and sandals, even though to do so would cost $50,000 a year to save jobs that pay $14,000, and if you think it is sort of slipshod to sock consumers with a $1.28-billion bill to buy votes for those heels in Congress then your complaint is valid but probably, as they say, bootless.

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

ALTHOUGH some Capitol Hill hardliners are grousing about the President's decision to stay with SALT II although it was never ratified and is due to expire in December, the Reagan Teflon is holding. Before the decision was made, one Republican senator and close friend of the President urged Mr. Reagan not to lock himself in. "Six months down the road, if there isn't an improvement in the Soviets' performance—and there probably won't be," the senator warned, "you'd better be loose, so leave a string on it." The President did exactly that. "This is not an open-ended commitment in perpetuity," National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane emphasized, noting that the Soviets' compliance in their building programs and their responsiveness at Geneva would both figure in the willingness of the U.S. to honor the treaty.

Navy Secretary John Lehman, who was allied with Richard Perle (now at the Pentagon) in his tooth-and-nail fight against SALT II in all its manifestations, came through gallantly for the President, describing Mr. Reagan's action as "played brilliantly." Lehman also told Cato that the dismantling of our Poseidon submarine (in order to float the Trident and thus conform with SALT II) gives the navy a vessel for training nuclear-sub officers, one that has been needed for years.

Much turns on the word "dismantle," the U.S. having agreed to "dismantle" the Poseidon. The President clarified that once and for all. "Hell," he told the troubled Reaganite senator, "dismantle simply means that we change the tubes."

Hardly anyone in Congress or in the Administration is downplaying the wreckage caused by the Walker spy ring. Cap Weinberger is so vexed by the putative treason that he wants to revise the U.S. Code of Military Justice to make possible the death penalty for the Walkers, if convicted, peacetime or not. Senator Patrick J. Leahy (D., Vt.), vice chairman of the Senate intelligence panel, which has access to practically all the government's security secrets, calls the damage "enormous." In an interview here, Leahy was merciless in his condemnation of treason.

"We just don't know how much is out there," says a senior Pentagon official, who notes that the ratio of Soviet officials in the U.S. to U.S. officials in the USSR is 2 to 1. The Leahy-Cohen bill, by the way, is designed to remedy the latter condition by requiring a strict numerical reciprocity between U.S. and Soviet diplomats and employees.

As Director of the Office of Personnel Management (OPM), Donald J. Devine was one of RR's most effective and successful officials. On one scale, indeed, he was Mr. Reagan's top appointee. In his five years at the OPM, Devine saved $18 *billion* through administrative and other reforms, a savings larger than can be claimed by any other agency or department head. Devine was on the short lists for several higher Administration posts, including Education Secretary and Director of the White House Personnel Office. Ultimately, however, Devine sought a second OPM term.

The Devine reappointment was reviewed by the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee in early June. At that time two Republicans (Maryland's Charles Mathias and Pennsylvania's Arlen Specter) joined with the Democrats to torpedo the nomination.

While awaiting confirmation, Devine took a three-week advisory position to his own deputy, Loretta Cornelius, who assumed the position of acting director. After allowing Devine to serve as de facto director for those three weeks (including testifying before Congress), Mrs. Cornelius then peremptorily fired him. Her justification to Devine was that she needed to establish clear lines of authority, but to the Senate committee she claimed that she had not realized that the job description she had signed enabled him to be de facto director. On a second day of hearings, Mrs. Cornelius shifted her story and embroidered it: She told the Senate that Devine had asked her to declare falsely that she had not known that the job description gave Devine full authority, whereas the truth of the matter, she said, was that she had known this right along. For these and other reasons, former OPM staffers discharged by Mrs. Cornelius, and some present ones, charge that she is "a consistent, predictable liar."

When the dust settles, Mrs. Cornelius will be sacked, Devine will be appointed to another Reagan post (or he'll run next year in a Republican primary against the semi-vulnerable Mathias), and Gerald Carmen, currently U.S. Ambassador to the UN in Geneva, will take over at the OPM.

—CATO

☐ Alger Hiss has written a letter to *Harper's* magazine "to deplore the decline in public morality in Reagan's Washington." He contrasts the sorry state of things today with the good old days he remembers: "Political corruption was non-existent in the Washington of Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt." (How would he know? Maybe the guilty people in his day just didn't get caught.) "Moreover, the New Deal also followed a moral foreign policy." (He helped see to that.) The Reaganites seem to feel "no shame." (No comment.)

☐ Remember the days when *Doonesbury* used to be funny? It was back before Garry Trudeau took that 18-month vacation. Now he has returned more self-important and asinine than any of the characters he used to lampoon. He seems to be suffering from that dreaded syndrome that attacks humorists—let's call it Russell Baker Disease: Merely because he once upon a time made people laugh, the humorist takes it as a mandate to pontificate on all sorts of serious issues. The recent series of panels on Frank Sinatra illustrates the affliction. No more warm humanity for Mr. Trudeau: now he goes after his victims with rusty nails and brass knuckles. He's not only mean-spirited, he's unfair. a recent strip showed a photo of a young Sinatra with Aniello Dellacroce, "later charged with the murder of Gambino family member Charley Calise." Dellacroce was indeed charged, but, as Trudeau failed

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to mention, he was also acquitted. Far be it from us to defend a mobster (if Dellacroce is one), but integrity is integrity, and Trudeau has been showing little of it.

☐ Police in Indianapolis, Indiana, executed a nifty sting operation, bringing to bay a couple of dangerous airport-limo services that offered their customers a glass of champagne on the trip, with apparently an insufficient license to do so. The police credit their skillful undercover work, namely reading the malefactors' ad in the Indianapolis Yellow Pages, with the discovery of the crime.

☐ Americans for Democratic Action says liberals are ready to make a comeback, and "economics is the key." One infers that liberals are about to recommend a whopping tax cut, and that should make it about unanimous.

No Hablo Inglés

They lost in 1848,
But wetbacks cross at such a rate
That by the year 2000, if
Your Spanish makes a Texan sniff,
He'll probably be someone whose
Vacation home's in Veracruz.

W. H. von Dreele

How to Think about Hostages

The kidnapping of the passengers of TWA Flight 847 is still in progress as we go to press, and it is impossible to know how it will turn out. Impossible also, of course, to know when the next terrorist strike will come. About the only thing we can reasonably predict is that it will come—whether next month, next year, or next Administration. A wry observation—hardly a joke—made the rounds when the 241 Marines were murdered by a terrorist bomb at the Beirut airport: If such a thing had happened during the Administration of Jimmy Carter, he would have been impeached in a week. The point was that, although feeble Carter was out and strong Reagan was in, nothing had changed but the rhetoric. To an extent, it was true. We have an Administration willing to take all necessary steps to combat terrorism. But the steps have eluded discovery; or, where they require the cooperation of other parties, the necessary national (and international) will has not been summoned. Since terrorist kidnappings, then, are likely to continue, it behooves America to consider the principles that should guide its future responses.

1. *Terrorism is war without the rules of war.* Even in the best circumstances, the rules of war never hold up very well. Where they do at all, it is in part because of the existence of common moral presumptions, shared by all the players; in part, because the rulebreakers, being concrete states, are visible, and potentially punishable. But terrorist groups have no official "reality"; and what bonds can exist with ultra-Marxists, rabid nationalists, or the weirdo Moslem sect of the week? War's niceties—truces, ceasefires, prisoner exchanges—therefore have no meaning. The Israelis, who have the most experience in coping with terrorism, once recognized this quite clearly. Their uncharacteristic willingness a month ago to release hundreds of prisoners, in return for a few soldiers, without a doubt encouraged the TWA hijackers.

2. *Hijack victims, and others kidnapped by terrorists, are, for all intents and purposes, dead.* Dead with this difference—they can with luck be restored to life. But that cannot be counted on. They have been seized by armed, professional killers to whom life means exactly nothing. Getting all hostages out alive is always unlikely; and unlikelihoods are not a reasonable goal of policy. The primary concern of the crisis managers must be with the living—in this case, all future airline passengers: those who, but for firm action now, might be jeopardized in the future.

3. *Demands may be answered, never accepted.* It follows from the first principle that, as President Reagan recognized in his televised news conference, no concessions or exchanges of any kind should be considered. If terrorists threaten to kill their prisoners, the response should take the form of killing their colleagues or constituents at a rate of ten, or one hundred, to one. This becomes morally murky in cases like that of the Shiite prisoners in Israel whose release was demanded by the TWA hijackers, and who were not guilty of terrorist crimes. (It is considerably less murky in the case of officious thugs like Nabih Berri, who willingly associate themselves, as gofers and mouthpieces, with the terrorists.) But there is no other way to respond. States can have diplomats scolded, trade cut off, harbors mined. Terrorists have *existence* apart from the situations that they define. The responsibility for the lives of their allies (willing or unwilling) rests with them.

All this is by way of treating the symptoms. In the longer run, other issues must be confronted.

Airports with security as slack as Athens's must be boycotted. Tourists who want to see the Parthenon can take a boat. Carriers that continue to fly into Athens must be banned from American airports.

To remove the temptation to secure the release of terrorists in prison, terrorist crimes should be made capital offenses. Terrorists currently in jail for lesser terms should have their sentences commuted upward, so to speak.

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Would it be possible, Jimmy Carter having been out of office for four and a half years, to develop, finally, some intelligence capability? If the relevant congressmen are reluctant, hang TWA 847 around their necks. If the managers of our intelligence services are incompetent, fire them.

The Compliance Question

FRED IKLÉ, U.S. Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, pointed out years ago, well before SALT I, that the thorniest aspect of arms control was not the form of the treaties themselves, nor their verification, but the question of compliance. Since no super law-enforcement agency stands above both superpowers to police compliance, arms-control treaties cannot be enforced. The most difficult question of all, therefore, is what to do if they are violated.

President Reagan's recent decision to continue U.S. compliance with SALT II despite Soviet violations was either a brilliant political maneuver or a demonstration of marshmallow resolve. It all depends on what comes next.

The Administration was facing an imminent decision on whether or not to deploy a newly built Trident submarine, thereby breaching the overall launcher limits of SALT II. Many Administration officials, Richard Perle most prominent among them, were arguing for a middle position: placing the new Trident in dry dock until January 1, when the SALT II treaty is due to expire anyway. This would have been a concrete response to Soviet violations, but would have fallen short of outright abrogation of the treaty. The President chose instead to dismantle a Poseidon submarine, thus keeping the United States strictly within the bounds of the treaty. The President did not, however, announce compliance without conditions. He made clear that if Soviet violations are not corrected the United States will make proportionate responses. Essentially he only postponed the real decision for another six months.

The President's dilemma was real: A U.S. decision to reciprocate the Soviet violations would have immediately subjected the Administration to glaring domestic and world criticism and would actually have distracted attention from Soviet violations. Yet to overlook Soviet violations, even while engaging in arms-control talks in Geneva, not only let the Kremlin off scot-free, but might also make a mockery of the Administration's commitment to a sensible arms-control policy. The Kremlin's contemptuous response to the U.S. announcement suggests, moreover, that the President's dilemma is not going to get any easier.

Reagan's greatest mistake in the 1984 presidential campaign was allowing Mondale to make an issue out of the Administration's failure to sign an arms-control treaty. The President should have put his opponent on the defensive by making the issue why Mondale was so eager to sign arms-control treaties with a government that openly violated those it had already signed. The key to a successful U.S. policy on arms-control compliance is, similarly, to put the Soviet leadership on the defensive by underscoring the Soviets' violations and placing the onus of destroying past treaties on them alone.

If the President during the next six months consistently calls attention to Soviet violations, points out the foolishness of making SALT II a declaration of unilateral U.S. restraint, and reminds our allies that conciliation must not become appeasement, then his decision to comply for the present may be seen in retrospect as a brilliant political move, one that lays the groundwork for concrete U.S. actions in the future. Such actions will then be widely seen as a justified response to Soviet cheating. But if the decision is only a prelude to dodging the issue of compliance yet again, it will appear a rather sorry choice indeed. A nation's sense of self-preservation must place limits on its patience.

Reynolds's Inquisition

WHEN LIBERAL Republican Senator Charles Mathias introduced Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds to the Senate Judiciary Committee at the commencement of the hearings on Reynolds's promotion to Associate Attorney General, the gesture was taken by Justice Department strategists as an indication of Mathias's support. But this week a Mathias spokesman told *NR* that the chances the senator would vote for Reynolds were only "fifty-fifty." Senator Joseph Biden, the ranking Democrat on the committee, says Mr. Reynolds's chances may be "slightly less" than even. As we go to press, Republican Judiciary Committee staffers were somewhat more optimistic. No one seriously questions Mr. Reynolds's integrity. It is perfectly clear that once again a Reagan appointee is being opposed simply because he supports the President's policies.

Governor Cuomo's Etiquette

In Albany one doesn't
  Use "liberal" today,
While journalists have noted
  "Progressive" is passé.
Until the next election
They're on the no-no list,
And that, of course, goes double
  For "neosocialist."

W. H. VON DREELE

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What is less widely known is that Reynolds, no mere good soldier, is one of the heroes of the Reagan revolution. Reynolds's victories as Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights were among the most important domestic achievements of the first four years.

Chief among these was the Supreme Court's dramatic rejection, in the Memphis firefighters case, of racial quotas as an acceptable civil-rights remedy. The case was argued before the Supreme Court by Solicitor General Rex Lee. But Reynolds was responsible for the government's taking up the case in the first place and for the aggressive line of argument on which the case was eventually decided. Reynolds's potentially revolutionary position was that no civil-rights remedy that confers benefits on people who are not themselves shown to be victims of discrimination should be allowed.

A small point, perhaps, that a man must show he has been injured before the courts order that extraordinary measures be taken for his benefit. Yet insisting upon it wipes away quotas—because their beneficiaries are random—and indeed all that is most objectionable about current civil-rights enforcement. Few would object to the courts' forbidding overt discrimination by government bodies. As for private discrimination, it may be regarded as a settled question that though forcing a lunch counter to serve blacks violates rights of property and free association, this country, by an act of Congress, will tolerate some such violations as a concession to history. What has been really objectionable has been the requirement that everyone's lunch counter search the highways and byways for a fitting proportion of blacks, Hispanics, women, and handicapped to serve. If, in the next few years, we can put such oppressive nonsense behind us, much of the credit will belong to Brad Reynolds.

It was Reynolds who first took up the Bob Jones case, contesting the IRS's right to deny that religious school's tax exemption without supporting legislation from Congress. Reynolds has also opposed mandatory busing, proposing instead the creation of top-flight magnet schools to attract students of all races.

Senate liberals, and the black lobby and its allies, are trying to use the confirmation process to repeal the 1984 election results. Not only is Reynolds being opposed on policy grounds, he is being opposed strictly for policies he took in the service of the Administration. Before his first appointment, the Washington word on Reynolds, fortunately proven false, was that he was an establishment Republican lawyer of moderate views. Brilliant, loyal, and effective, Reynolds should not get tossed to the piranhas.

Legitimizing the Contras

CONGRESS, REVERSING itself since April, has agreed to vote funds for the *Contras*. Differences between the House and Senate bills remain to be worked out; the Nicaraguan freedom-fighters could be receiving official aid by the end of the summer.

The spectacularly imprudent visit of President Daniel Ortega to Moscow is credited with changing marginal congressional minds. They must have been very marginal minds indeed to have been surprised that a Marxist-Leninist would pay a visit to his handlers.

Senator Christopher Dodd (D., Conn.) made the point. "Where did many of my colleagues think he was going to go? Disney World?" Dodd, of course, does not mind Communoid regimes springing up south of the Rio Grande like toadstools, and he stayed in the pro-Sandinista camp. He was almost equaled in awfulness by one of the switchers, Representative William B. Richardson (D., N.M.). "I've been willing to give Daniel Ortega the benefit of the doubt, and that's produced nothing. So I'm willing to give the President a try." Glad to hear it, Bill. Meanwhile, back in Managua, Ortega's brother, the defense minister (wasn't nepotism one of the Somozas' sins?), puffed himself up like a big bullfrog and warned that if ever the United States intervened directly, "popular forces throughout Latin America will unleash their violence." Eeek!

Ringing in the New American Revolution

Franklin D. Roosevelt, a President whom Ronald Reagan remembers, and cites with trans-ideological fondness, confronted an interestingly analogous dilemma. In July 1940, as Hitler's armies poured into a beaten France, America, like Britain during the Napoleonic era, faced the possibility of a Europe consolidated under the rule of a hostile power. The immediate problem on Roosevelt's mind was not so much

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Europe as South America, where, as he told Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, the Germans could be expected to make their first post-European move. Roosevelt's fears were thoroughly reasonable. South America's markets were tied to Europe; German agents were sown throughout the continent; there were large, and presumably sympathetic, populations of German and Italian immigrants in several of the key countries (years later, Dr. Mengele was able to find refuge among them); South Americans were disposed to go with the winners of the moment.

Nicaragua is nowhere near as large, and the economic lure is non-existent ("Soviet trade"—an entry in an oxymoron contest). But it is far closer to our borders, and the degree of ideological control and armed threat is much greater.

Ultimately, the aid voted by Congress—"humanitarian" in nature; not to be dispensed, according to the House version, by the CIA—may prove to be only a stopgap. The key point is that it politically and morally legitimizes the anti-Sandinista movement. One way or another, the Sandinistas will have to be smitten by whatever means are necessary. Ronald Reagan recognizes the strategic imperatives, even if Christopher Dodd does not.

Cuomoism

IN EXPLAINING the Administration's tax-reform plan at a June 7 press conference, White House Communications Director Patrick Buchanan made a passing reference to New York's Governor Mario Cuomo and the question of eliminating deductions for state and local taxes—a hot issue for the high-tax states. Buchanan told the reporters that the plan sought to move away from "neosocialist" forms of redistribution in favor of encouraging growth and investment; and that it would also favor the "traditional" family, badly squeezed by the inflation-devalued personal exemption. Was the plan, someone asked, an attempt to make women stay home? No, Buchanan said: "We are saying if a woman decided to stay home and take care of four kids rather than go out and work, we are not going to penalize her."

Cuomo lost no time in replying. Stung by the word "neosocialist," as well he might be, he called Buchanan "stunningly irresponsible" and implied that Buchanan had suggested that "women should be made to stay home."

Back came Buchanan. He called Cuomo "the glib, fast-talking lobbyist for a reactionary liberalism that would kill tax reform in its crib. . . . Mario Cuomo's incessant invocations of the poor, the downtrodden, the ill, almost invariably turn up as preambles to budget requests that would augment the power of his own political class—the welfare-statists."

Cuomo, he continued, "is a statist, instinctively hostile to the idea that people can manage for themselves, instinctively cordial to the aggrandizement of government power. This President is a standing affront to that kind of politician. . . . The dirty little secret of the American Left is that it is interested in power, not people."

For good measure, Buchanan also recalled Cuomo's "trash America speech" at last year's Democratic convention, in which Cuomo said that under Ronald Reagan "we give money to Latin American governments that murder American nuns and then we lie about it."

In this exchange there is an interesting symbiosis of interests. Cuomo is ambitious and welcomes the role of national spokesman for the Democratic Party, now that Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale are *hors de combat*. The Administration seems to welcome Cuomo in that role: Despite (or thanks to) all the media puffery for him, it feels he can be taken. As Buchanan's description of him suggests, he is unlikely to play in Peoria. Cuomo may be able to stir frenzy in the bosoms of a hall of Reagan-haters, but to most of the country he is Noo Yawk—the Bailout State—personified, talking about "family" not in the usual sense of the word, but as a metaphor for paternalistic statism and ever more taxation. As long as Cuomo speaks for the Democrats, the lines of battle are clear between the forces of redistribution and the cause of economic freedom. And that's good for the Republicans.

Provided, that is, that the Republicans are willing to fight for principle. Most of them unfortunately seem to lack the stomach for a fight. Cuomo scares them. But Buchanan is not afraid, and he plans to do a lot more in the way of jousting with Administration critics: He has already set up a "response desk" to rebut liberal charges. Two members of this special staff will be Republican polemicist Frank Gregorsky and *NR* contributor Mona Charen, neither of whom will be inhibited by any sense of "family" ties to Mario Cuomo. In fact, future exchanges between the governor and the White House may resemble footage from *Rambo*.

The New School Tie

"WHAT DO YOU DO with a 15-year-old transvestite?" asked New York City Schools Chancellor Nathan Quinones. He obviously thought it was a rhetorical question to which the only reasonable answer was that you provide a special school for the junior drag queen. Which is just what had been done: The Harvey Milk School has been serving the alleged special educational needs of young homosexuals, with a $45,000 annual budget from the taxpayers.

Quinones contended that the city wasn't condoning or promoting homosexuality: Its neutrality on this

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red-hot social issue was somehow unaffected by its financial support of a school whose celebration of homosexuality is proclaimed by its name (Harvey Milk was the homosexual activist and San Francisco official who was murdered a few years ago). It's instructive to contrast this "neutrality" argument with the standard liberal position that government aid to religious schools, even in providing transportation, fatally compromises the state's neutrality on religion.

Mayor Edward Koch, who has been pressuring the Archdiocese of New York to comply with his "gay rights" hiring order, also supports the Harvey Milk School. Some "neutrality." Some way to answer the "needs" of kids who under other circumstances might not be arrested in an aberrant stage of development.

Such is the current shape of liberal compassion. When Mayor Koch and Governor Cuomo attack the Reagan tax-reform plan for ending exemptions for state and local taxes, it's worth remembering that a high-tax state like New York exercises its option to tax by spending the citizen's earnings on literally perverse projects like the Harvey Milk School.

David Nelson Rowe, RIP

BORN IN 1905 of missionary parents stationed in Nanking, David Rowe resided in central China until 1922. Those early years stirred in him the love of East Asia that was to be one of his life's many passions. He took degrees at lofty American universities, and then launched into a career of research, writing, lecturing, and teaching—most of the last at Yale, mostly as a full professor for more than thirty years.

Sardonic, indefatigable, matter-of-fact, and unabashedly conservative, David Rowe was—in Sabatini's words—"born with a gift of laughter and a sense that all the world was mad." Though an outstanding authority on the Far East, he rarely was lionized with the glory boys in the academy because this big man, mature in a way that few achieve maturity, knew what his lilliputian contemporaries did not, and he said so: They were wrong. He viewed them as purveyors of sleek hypocrisies and invincible illusions and no-win idiocies. They hassled this fighter and niggled him, and toward the end of his Yale tenure they exiled him to conspicuous isolation in a distant basement office laced with pipes and shared with a graduate student from Uganda. Indeed, Peking seems to have recognized the correctness of Professor Rowe's views earlier than New Haven.

From behind the rilled roughness of his manner he never ceased to watch, and to see into the haze—and to discern truths about Communism's war to totalitarianize the world. He observed the war and fought in it, notably in an endless stream of books and articles, with solitary intensity.

He would sweep into places like Taipei, Saigon, Seoul, and Washington with an air of purpose and a hint of mystery. He liked good whisky and a good story, and when he talked of China in the old days one could hear across the decades the roar of guns.

He was an avid hunter, and once told how—when he went to Alaska for Kodiak bear—he took three bullets and returned with two bullets and a dead bear. Another time, he said to his neophyte companion when goose hunting on the Eastern Shore, "It always matters when you get your feet wet." He was a man who liked to look a fact square in the eye.

"I'm all right," he told old friend and former student Phil McCombs on the phone from his retirement home in Phoenix last fall, "except they've just handed me this damned death sentence!" It was cancer of the kidney. He came to the door in a silk Chinese robe—pale and thin but full of intellectual zest. With his lovely wife, Kathryn, at his side, he told how in Shanghai in 1937 a contact warned him away from a waterfront hotel. Rowe moved just before the Chinese air force, aiming at Japanese ships, accidentally bombed it—killing Princeton lecturer Robert Reischauer, who was in the lobby checking in. Later, Rowe said, his academic career was launched when he was offered Reischauer's job. There were many such stories over many hours.

Shortly before the stilling of his personal furies in early June, he described his life as a struggle in the cause of freedom. "I fought 'em tooth and nail, boy!" he roared into the phone—this mentor, this tough compatriot, this fiercely faithful friend. "I never gave an inch!" Indeed. And now, in the presence of his destiny, surely he is lecturing the Heavenly Host on his dead-certain views of distant eventualities—views that will prove to be, like so many of his earthly ones, correct.

—ROSS MACKENZIE

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ To the Editor
The New Republic

The recent column ("Washington Diarist," April 22) by Charles Krauthammer is intellectually misinformed and personally disoriented. It was the column in which he went after three philistines for attacking George Will, who has brought Burke to America. NATIONAL REVIEW was listed as the third of the ignorant, ungrateful malefactors. Permit me to say that before so categorically handling us, a critic should read his material more carefully than CK did.

The article by Charles Kesler (NATIONAL REVIEW, March 22) that CK goes after is scholarly and long, and not compressible, but permits the rudimentary

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point that follows. Mr. Krauthammer wrote, "Then, the heart of the argument [Kesler's indictment of Will]: insufficient reverence for our basic political arrangements. Will is critical of the Founders' devotion to individual liberty at the expense of individual virtue. Bad, says NATIONAL REVIEW." There follows a quote which is beside the point.

Kesler's point is that the Founding Fathers in fact had something to say about the paradigmatic life, something that goes beyond capitalist arrangements or the separation of powers. He quoted from Publius, to the effect that the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were the doctors to the people's political health, "and the prudent inquiry, i.e., the inquiry of prudence, is said to be 'in all cases . . . not so much *from whom* the advice comes, as whether the advice be *good*.'" Kesler adds, "This is, I think, about as much as could be asked for in a political statement of wisdom's claim to rule."

That position, made on a larger canvas (which we furnished him), is at odds with settled opinion about the amorality of our constitutional provenance, opinion held by some, though by no means all, Straussians, and by George Will. To pass the whole thing off as nothing more than an exercise in Will-derogation undermines the gravity of an important exchange. That Kesler's essay also had spice should not affront *The New Republic*.

On a personal note, let me say that no mean-spirited attack will appear in NATIONAL REVIEW at the expense of George Will so long as I am its editor. I knew George, admired George, hired George as book editor and Washington editor for NATIONAL REVIEW, many moons before CK heard of him. I take the opportunity to suggest to him, and while at it to others, that they keep their eyes on young Charles Kesler, PhD'd by Harvard a few months ago. He will make a significant mark in political science, if not in journalism; but then neither did Edmund Burke, a veneration for whom most of the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW professed beginning in 1955 when, like Venus, we sprang up from nothingness, full of beauty, wisdom, and grace.

Yours faithfully,
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

"Your best friends won't tell you," but I will. I am an ardent admirer of your intelligence and your philosophies, your keen wit and sense of humor, which I have enjoyed and totally agree with, over the years.

Here it comes!!! You deprive me!!! I estimate that about 10 to 15 per cent of your utterances are lost to me because of a tendency you have of closing your jaws toward the ends of sentences, resulting in a muttering sound as it comes over the mike. I have an idea that your thought processes are racing so rapidly that your diction doesn't keep pace.

Keep up the good work—we need more like you. But please let me catch everything you have to say.

Sincerely,
F. L. Tinklepaugh
Zellwood, Fla.

Dear Mr. Tinklepaugh: Okay, I'll try, but that last 15 per cent may be my Achilles heel. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

A "first" letter (and long overdue) to express my concern over your literary works, i.e., novels, novellas, autobiographies, et al. My concern takes many shapes, but mostly and highly inconvenient is that I am predisposed to read all that emanates from you. My wife claims this is a fetish.

My problem is that I have to return to my continuing-education courses for preparation for a brokerage exam scheduled in a few months. I WOULD RATHER READ YOU! Therefore I have embarked upon a brilliant solution: 1) you stop writing long enough for me to return to my studies, or 2) you take my damned exam, and allow me to continue re-reading and enjoying your onslaughts on the Atlantic.

Your decision I trust will be forthcoming, allowing me sufficient time to schedule my . . . vacation!

Cordially,
Richard J. Linton
Ponderosa Mortgage Corporation
Riverside, Calif.

Dear Mr. Linton: Okay, okay. But what do they ask brokers in their exams? Will Rogers had a simple rule for *his* broker: "Buy when it's low, sell when it goes up. If it doesn't go up, don't buy it." Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I have invented a new verb: *Buckley*.

Definition: To dress up a falsehood with eloquent language, with the result that it *appears* to be true.

Thus, if Conservative A and Conservative B are discussing plans to publish a falsehood:

Conservative A might say: "Wait a minute. We can't print that in its present form: It's clearly and obviously false."

Then Conservative B could say: "Don't worry. We'll *Buckley* it: Then it'll appear to be true. Then whoever reads it will believe it."

Then Conservative A could say: "Oh. Good idea. Wonderful."

Cordially,
Hank Green
Denver, Colo.

Dear Mr. Green: You have it almost right. What's missing is only that if it is Buckleyed, it not only appears correct, it *becomes* correct. So you get a B plus. Cordially, **—WFB**

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MIDYEAR POLITICAL NOTES

TALK CONTINUES to build around town that Senator Jake Garn (R., Utah) won't seek a third term in 1986. "He gripes about his finances all the time," observes a Democratic staffer, "about how hard it is to support seven kids and two homes on a salary of $72,600." Garn fought hard against the 1983 amendment that limited the income senators can earn from outside speeches, articles, and appearances to 30 per cent of their salary (which works out to $21,780 annually). The rumor continues as follows: Republican Congressman Jim Hansen will run for the Senate seat if Garn doesn't (true) and will probably be challenged by former Governor Scott Matheson (probably true), which race would then be too close to call (true).

The only problem with the scenario is that the starting premise is wrong. "Jake grumbles a lot," says a ranking Republican senator, "but there's no question he'll go for it again." Garn himself says he's running and is amused by stories that he's been offered the presidency of a large banking firm. "The only job he'd like better than being senator," says a senior Garn staffer, "is being Secretary of the Interior or Defense." Hansen himself backs Garn unreservedly. "I'm encouraging Jake to run," he told me. "He's been a great senator, the most popular politician in Utah. I don't know what Jake could do to lose the election. It wouldn't surprise me if he got 75 per cent of the vote." (In 1980, Garn racked up 74 per cent.)

Paul Laxalt (R., Nev.) has also provoked some will-he/won't-he speculation around here, the current predominant drift being: Yes, he'll go for it. "If he doesn't, the seat could well go Democratic," says a seasoned Nevada-watcher. Laxalt himself would be a re-election shoo-in in 1986. But if he steps down, his former aide Barbara Vucanovich would be the most likely Republican candidate; Representative Vucanovich is in her mid-sixties and had a mastectomy two years ago. Republican Attorney General Brian McKay and State Senator Bob Ryan would probably challenge her in what might result in a divisive primary. On the Democratic side, the primary election would be likely to include Representative Harry Reid, ex-Representative James Santini, and Governor Richard Bryan, with Reid probably winning, a formidable contender against Representative Vucanovich.

Laxalt says that Republican retention of the seat is "my biggest single problem." To resolve the dilemma, he has commissioned pollster Richard Wirthlin to do an in-depth analysis of Nevada politics over the next six weeks. "Then I'll go to my mountain at Lake Marlette," says the senator, referring to his get-away-from-it-all home near Tahoe, "and be briefed by Wirthlin. The focal question will be whether the seat would be put in jeopardy." Despite his preference for retirement, the odds are increasing that Paul Laxalt will seek a third U.S. Senate term, bound by his own standard of duty.

The only sharp elbow, really, in the tax-reform package is nondeductibility of state and local taxes. Although the White House says there is absolutely no give on this reform feature, Democratic representatives like Tony Coelho from California and Tom Downey from New York are eyeing an alternative that could be customized to match the $33 billion in 1987 revenue that the killing of this exemption would yield, namely, a tax on imported oil. Thanks to a nonprofit organization called the Council for a Secure America, apparatus is in place for mobilizing a coalition of supporters of Israel from the Northeast and oil and gas producers from the Southwest.

The idea is this: Israel has a big interest in energy self-sufficiency for the United States, since that means no dependency on Arab oil. So, if you take Israel's political supporters in Congress, particularly Northeasterners on the Ways and Means, Energy, and Commerce Committees, and hook them up with congressmen representing Texas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana, whose independent oil and gas producers and refiners are hurting because of the flood of foreign oil, you have odd bedfellows, but powerful and determined ones. If this coalition put together an amendment to the tax-reform bill that on the one hand maintained the deductibility of state and local taxes and on the other hand threw in a tax on imported oil, it might just fly.

Adding up the votes of the high-tax, largely pro-Israel states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and California, and combining them with the votes of the oil-and-gas-producing states of Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma, you get a total of nearly two hundred. "Then throw in the non-high-tax, non-oil-and-gas, but hard-core pro-Israel states—maybe another dozen votes—and you're on your way to forming a block that can pull a majority of the House," says an interested Washington lobbyist and practiced head-counter. Liberals like Downey can support these designated oil and gas interests in good conscience because they are not the big, evil multinationals but the struggling domestic independents.

The mood of Congress on tax reform this year remains bullish, and The Unveiling by Ronald Reagan was a grand start, but clearly Dan Rostenkowski and Jim Baker and Bob Packwood have some tough battles ahead, if they are to meet the deadlines of October 15 for the House and December 31 for the Senate. The late June book is slightly better than even money for 1985 passage. □

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REBELS, GOOD AND BAD

THERE IS much discussion in Washington these days about Third World insurgencies. Should the U.S. help them, or not? Should any aid given be open or covert? What criteria should govern such aid?

Not long ago, in what I thought was a valuable exercise, two *Washington Post* reporters looked at the present situation in some detail. The Senate appropriations subcommittee on foreign operations, at its hearings on this issue in May, brought out two contradictory doctrines (with a good many variants).

The mainstream doctrine, initiated by President Reagan in his State of the Union message this year and propagated with some eloquence by Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick and Secretary of State George P. Shultz, calls for support to "those who are risking their lives—on every continent, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua—to defy Soviet-supported aggression." At the hearing, Richard L. Armitage, Assistant Secretary for Defense for International Security Affairs, gave the White House doctrine slightly ambiguous support when he declared that "the enemy of our enemy will be assured of our friendship if he shares our values in opposition to our enemy. . . . Not every group that professes anti-Communism deserves our support."

The muddled voice of Representative Stephen J. Solarz, the New York Democrat, was also heard. Mr. Solarz had thought the thing through, and had come to unsound conclusions. He spelt out his criteria: The rebel group should be indigenous to the country and resisting a foreign occupier, not an established and recognized government. It should have broad international and regional support; and U.S. military support should advance a significant American objective as well as enhance the prospects for a negotiated settlement.

Under the Solarz guidelines, the Cambodian insurgents qualify for support but not the Nicaraguan *Contras*, or the (Communist-controlled) African National Congress against South Africa, or the UNITA insurgents in Angola. Aid should not necessarily be given to anti-Communist guerrillas, he argued, but could go to rebels against repressive but non-Communist governments.

No subject has exercised me more since (and before) I started the ball rolling 25 years ago with my book *The Rebels*. Why, then, do I consider the Solarz doctrine muddled and unsound? I offer some comments:

—All Communist governments everywhere are illegitimate, because all were established by force and/or fraud, and none will submit its fate to truly free popular elections. This is as true of the Sandinista government as of any other. To distinguish between the regime in Kampuchea and that in Nicaragua makes no sense. True, the present government in Phnom Penh was set up by Vietnamese force of arms, but the Sandinista government would not have achieved power without Soviet and Cuban aid and direction.

—To aid rebels against *any* repressive government, whether Communist or anti-Communist, may sound morally admirable but can lead to replacing a merely authoritarian regime with a totalitarian one. This is exactly what happened in Nicaragua. Nobody could argue that the late President Somoza was a paragon of democratic values; nor indeed was Batista in Cuba. But neither Batista nor Somoza worked against U.S. and Western interests. The regimes that replaced them are part of the Soviets' worldwide expansionist apparatus.

—The call for a negotiated settlement is equally muddled. Negotiated settlements are always an available option with Communist insurgencies. All the anti-Communist side has to do is lay down its arms and come to the conference table. Negotiations ended the first and second Indochina wars and brought "peace" (i.e., defeat for one side and victory for the other) in Laos. The issue is not negotiated settlement but victory for "our" side; it is too often the choice between a finite and local tyranny (Batista, Somoza) and a self-perpetuating and internationally backed tyranny.

For my part, I deeply regret the anomalies of present and past American leaders in their attitudes toward the insurgencies in southern Africa. The absurd Clark Amendment of ten years ago, banning aid to the anti-Marxist guerrillas in Angola (specifically), gave victory to the Soviet-backed side and made the gigantic Soviet airlift of Cuban troops possible.

MUDDLED THOUGH the American attitudes toward insurgencies continue to be (both within the Administration and among its critics), some rejoicing does seem to me to be in order. For how much worse the situation was eight or ten years ago, when major strategic errors were being perpetrated in this same field! But a still more important area of policy remains a blank: Neither NATO nor the individual member states of the Alliance appears to have the slightest idea of how to deal with the Soviets' most sensationally successful new technique —the teleguided coup d'état.

Some examples of teleguided coups: Afghanistan, South Yemen, Ethiopia (all in 1978), and, more recently, the Grenada affair. What happens when a Soviet- or Cuban-backed group seizes power, then turns to the Soviet Union for aid or even for a "friendly invasion"? Nothing happens, that's what.

Yet such teleguided coups have transformed the world strategic picture to the West's acute and lasting disadvantage over the past decade. The Grenada operation reversed a dangerous situation, but only in one small place. Communist conspirators should no more be allowed to hijack a nation than terrorists to hijack an airliner. □

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A SUPPLY-SIDE VIEW

WITH THE tax code once again under revision, I went to a Capitol Hill reception in the new Senate Office Building to see if I could find out anything of interest. Practically every staffer on the Senate Finance Committee seemed to be on hand. These are the people who actually write the tax laws, but you don't learn much from them; any more than you would be able to discern future economic trends from the floor of the New York Stock Exchange on a busy day. It is not that Finance Committee aides know things they are too discreet to tell you. They know only too well the political uncertainties ahead: the difficulty of foreseeing the net outcome of constituency pressure, special-interest lobbying, and senatorial whim. So they stand about contentedly at the eye of the gathering political storm, nibbling *crudités* and crackers, swapping stories about their bosses, and letting stray seekers-after-truth know, with cynical shrugs, that the guessing game is also a mug's game.

Finance Committee chairman Senator Robert Packwood (pants too short in the patrician style) gave a non-revealing speech, and then the watchful Senator Robert Dole appeared, executing a disciplined traverse of the room without so much as sipping a drink or touching a cauliflower tip. Dole has mastered the noncommittal bonhomie that is the preferred style of the influential politician on public display. He cracked a few jokes. He signed autographs. (Some constituents from outside the Beltway seemed to have made their way into this Upper Room.) He listened gravely as senior aides put on little displays of importance by whispering in his ear. And he gave nothing away. He exchanged a few words with the eye-patched U.S. Chamber of Commerce economist Richard Rahn (a possibility to replace David Stockman at the Office of Management and Budget) and was gone before you could make a nondisciplined return trip to the bar.

A few days later I went to see Howard Segermark, who has an office a block from the White House. Formerly an economic advisor to Senator Jesse Helms, he went to work for A. B. Laffer Associates in California, and there found to his surprise that he preferred life inside the Beltway. So he bought a brass plate and set up the Segermark Company, an expression of his faith in the idea that supply-siders can predict the market outcome of policy changes before the market itself reflects them. Since February he has been advising money managers about such policy changes. The tax-reform debate of 1985 is obviously his first big test.

A day earlier Segermark had attended a Treasury Department briefing by James Baker, the Treasury Secretary. And there he had discovered something that intrigued him, on page two of the President's tax-reform briefing book.

"The first thing I looked at was the effective date of the proposed tax cut," Segermark said. "It is July 1, 1986." If the Administration proposal becomes law without change, he said, there will be "blended rates" in 1986. Only half of the proposed tax-rate reduction will go into effect for that year. (The top rate will be reduced from 50 to 42.5 per cent.) Meanwhile the elimination of tax deductions will take effect promptly on January 1, 1986. And this means a tax *increase* for many upper-income people next year. An election year.

"David Stockman strikes again," Segermark said.

HE EXPLAINED the peculiar incentives that are created by announcing a tax cut (or increase) at a definite date in the future. "Bear in mind that the full tax cut will go into effect on January 1, 1987," Segermark said. "That means in 1986 there will be an incentive to postpone economic activity into the better tax climate of 1987."

The same thing happened in Reagan's first term, he said. The full 1981 tax cut was not in effect until 1983. In 1982 there was a recession.

"Who goes shopping on the day before a sale?" Segermark asked. "We could be looking at a recession in 1986. And how about the possibility of Senator Ferraro in New York?" Segermark shook his head. The persistent witlessness of Republicans defied description! "Our salvation will be the 22 Republican senators up for re-election next year," he thought. "I understand Senator Kasten is apoplectic."

But Segermark was also intrigued. Earlier that day he had discussed the problem with an E. F. Hutton tax analyst who had denied that this provision—a tax increase in 1986 masquerading as a tax cut—was even in the bill. Yet Segermark knew that it was. He had double-checked with Dennis

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Ross, a deputy legislative counsel at Treasury. If you have information that it is reasonable to suppose is not yet widespread in the market, then a market opportunity exists, no matter how unpalatable the information.

Segermark called one of his clients —among whom he numbers Continental Insurance Investment Corporation and Lazard Frères Asset Management. The client had not heard about the tax-cut phase-in (an editorial on the topic came out three days later in the *Wall Street Journal*). He was interested, but he questioned whether the postponement of economic activity really would take place. "What are they going to do?" he asked. "Take vacations in 1986?" Implausible, obviously. Most people have to work whether they like it or not. But he also admitted that he did have ways of shifting some of his own income into 1987 if need be.

With that problem unresolved (and, as I would find out, supply-siders are far from unanimous on the topic), I went to a reception honoring William A. Niskanen at the Cato Institute on Capitol Hill. Formerly with the Council of Economic Advisors, Niskanen is now chairman of Cato, the Washington home of libertarianism. There was a garden reception, well attended by both supply-siders and libertarians. (They agree in important ways but they are far from identical. Libertarians believe above all that government spending should be cut. Supply-siders believe that this is desirable but utopian, and stress that tax cuts should not meanwhile be held hostage.)

Both supply-siders and libertarians agree, however, that the Administration's proposed top income-tax rate of 35 per cent is too high. If this rate is lowered, say, to 25 per cent as Senator Packwood has proposed, then the struggle by the present beneficiaries of the tax code to retain their privileges and exclusions will abate: The loopholes will in effect close themselves. (Getting into shelters involves transaction costs that discourage the transaction unless the tax benefit is substantial.) A top rate of 35 per cent is still high enough to ensure continued special-interest pressure to maintain current law. Governor Cuomo and the *New York Times*, for example, will lobby heavily to preserve intact the deductibility of state and local taxes, because New York is a high-tax state.

At the Cato reception I met Bruce Bartlett, now with the Heritage Foundation. He expressed the general supply-side pleasure at the prospect of nondeductible state taxes, which he felt will "create tax revolts" at the state level. Both he and Stephen Entin, a deputy assistant secretary at Treasury, thought the top rate too high, and Entin was frustrated by the persistence in Washington of what is called "static revenue analysis."

This is the assumption that people will not change their behavior in response to higher or lower tax rates. If we assume that $1 billion is taxable at the 50 per cent rate, then Treasury revenue is half that. Now lower the top rate to 35 per cent, and by "static analysis" the same taxable income will be reported, yielding revenue of $350 million. Static estimating means that revenues decline whenever rates are reduced.

Just about everyone knows this is false—that at lower rates people will emerge from leisure, shelters, and the underground economy. But the imperative of static analysis, plus the requirement that the tax bill be "revenue neutral" overall, ensures that a reduction of tax rates on income must be offset by new taxes elsewhere.

THE IDEA that people's behavior is affected by raising or lowering their tax rates had by 1980 been well and truly forgotten by economists. In that year George Bush dubbed the suggestion voodoo economics. But in the wake of the Administration's tax bill we have new and influential converts to the voodoo cause, most recently including the columnist Carl Rowan. With a touch of sadness he pointed out on *Agronsky & Co.* that people in high-tax states might actually move to low-tax states if they can't deduct their state and local taxes. Liberals, one is amused to note, are willing to argue that we may move our *homes* in response to tax changes, but they persist in ridiculing the suggestion that we will move our money. One phone call suffices for the latter. Moving vans are needed for the former.

I phoned Rudolph Penner, the director of the Congressional Budget Office, and asked him if he could account for the mysterious persistence of static analysis in Washington. A recent *Wall Street Journal* article had pointed out that "only three places reject the law of supply as a matter of economic theology: the Kremlin, the Congressional Budget Office, and the Office of Tax Analysis in Treasury."

Penner, who was formerly with the American Enterprise Institute, said that "everyone agrees there'll be some response" to tax changes. "The problem is there's very little agreement as to how much." In some areas, he said, "we do build in a behavioral response —for example with the gasoline tax." (That is, if you tax gasoline at, say, one cent a gallon, you do not estimate the revenue by multiplying the former number of gallons sold by one cent. You assume that demand for gas will be lower at the higher price. This is a "dynamic" revenue estimate.)

"But with things like the savings rate, work effort, and of course the underground economy," Penner said, "we don't know anything about" the extent to which behavior will change in response to tax changes. Therefore, the assumption is made that there will be *no* change. "The technicians just apply a static process to the problem, label it as such, and let the politicians argue about what the dynamic response might be."

Of course, the politicians do no such thing, because they are intimidated by statistics, are unaware of their contingent nature, and are not unreasonably fearful that they will be assaulted by the news media and called true believers, witch doctors, right-wing ideologues, theologians, and voodoo practitioners if they question CBO revenue estimates.

In summary, Penner said, "We use the static revenue-estimating technique not because people believe it is right, but only as a pragmatic device."

En passant, we should note the socialist assumption that is left undisturbed by static estimating: People's behavior will not be affected if you raise their taxes because they are willing to work for the collective good—for the state. Thus their behavior will not change when tax rates are lowered.

George Gilder, who has just completed a revised version of *Sexual Suicide*, due to be published in New Orleans this fall (it's too hot for New York to handle, having to do with ineradicable differences between male and female members of the species), is fairly well satisfied with the Administration's tax proposal. He also considers its passage a matter of urgent necessity.

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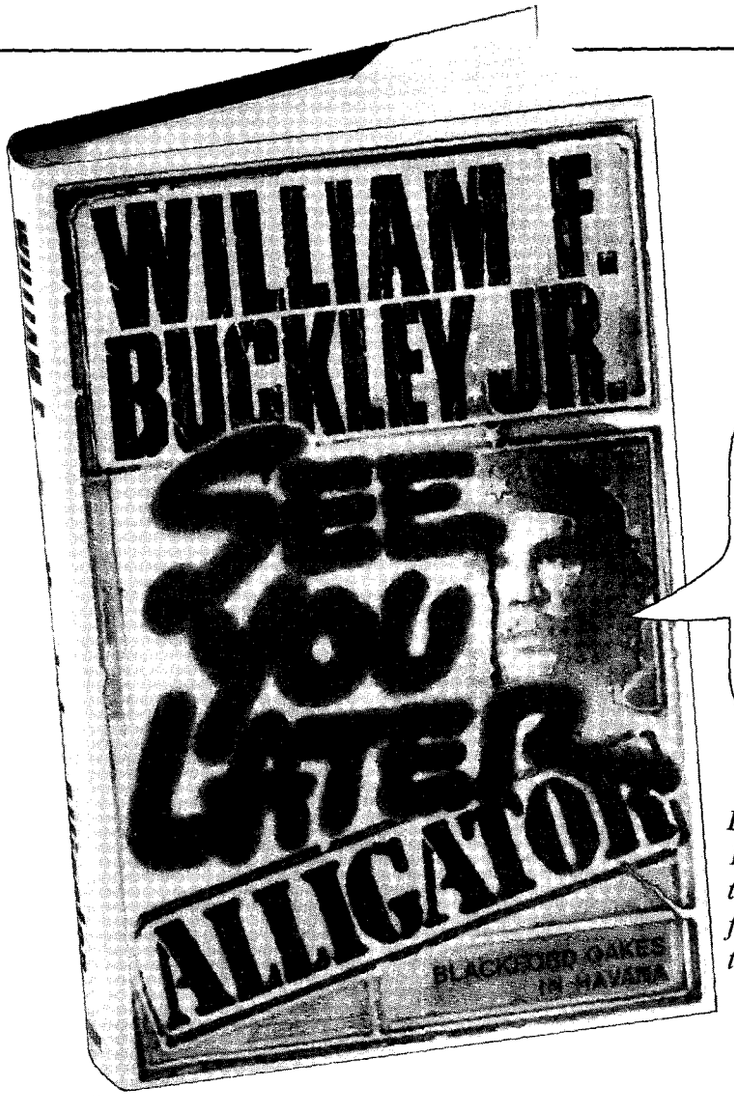

"You may call me Che."

Comandante Guevara was slighter than Blackford had imagined, weighing perhaps 160 pounds, five feet nine or ten inches tall. He wore his traditional beret and army fatigues. His regular facial posture was that of a half smile.

"We have a lot to discuss, Mr. Caimán."

This was Blackford Oakes's introduction to Che Guevara and the beginning of a fast-moving game of wits that meant death for the loser. Oakes, under the code name Caimán (Spanish for alligator), finds himself in the tightest spot of his entire career—trying to defuse the Cuban Missile Crisis while in a race to save the life of his beautiful Cuban interpreter, Catalina.

Does he pull it off? You know part of the answer already, but the part you don't know is what makes *See You Later Alligator* so utterly fascinating. This is such a brilliantly plotted book that you'll keep on being surprised right up to the last page. It's filled with romance and intrigue in the grand old style of Eric Ambler and Graham Greene, a classic thriller you won't want to come to an end, even while you can't wait to get to the end. And the end, when it does come, has a chilling twist that only Bill Buckley would think of.

See You Later Alligator is the latest in Buckley's spy-thriller series, which, as enthusiastic reviewers agree, gets better with every new adventure. But the *best* news is that, right now (*for a limited time only*), we offer this big new hardcover book (a stiff $16.95 retail value) as a FREE bonus with your subscription to *National Review*.

Just use the convenient card opposite this page to enter your subscription to NR for a full year (25 exciting issues) at the regular $34 rate, and we'll send *See You Later Alligator* to you without delay, FREE and postpaid (another sizable saving). If you're already a subscriber, we'll simply extend your present subscription (no matter when it expires) for 25 more issues at the same $34 rate and this best-selling book is yours FREE! Do it now.

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High-tax austerity economics in Western Europe are creating mounting problems—among them debt, which isn't something that Gilder normally worries about. (Debt is good, he feels, as long as it is accompanied by growth.) Only lower tax rates in the U.S. can pull Western Europe out of its stagnation.

Ever the optimist, Gilder also believes that Congress in the coming months will lower the top tax rate to 30 per cent, and that the revenues to pay for this (given, once again, the needless burden imposed by static analysis) could come from distinguishing between the personal and the dependent exemption; holding the former down to its current level and increasing the latter (as in the Administration bill) to $2,000 per dependent.

Peter Ferrara and Bruce Bartlett at the Cato party also thought such a distinction desirable. "Don't waste revenues giving tax breaks to yuppies," Bartlett said. (And he said he had already mentioned this to Bruce Chapman in the White House.)

But Alan Reynolds of Polyconomics worries that the tax bill as it stands is too hard on yuppies in high-tax states. They will be losing a lot of deductions, and at incomes in the $30,000 to $75,000 range will not experience much of anything in the way of rate reductions. So he too feels that the top rate should come down. Reynolds, incidentally, does not believe the tax bill will pass this year; it could be held up in the Senate. "Democrats would love nothing more than to see Senate Republicans kill it," he said.

Like Segermark, Reynolds was disturbed by the "Stockmanesque" tax-cut phase-in, probably resulting in deferred compensation and other such rational behavior. Nonetheless, Polyconomics is forecasting a fairly strong 4.3 per cent growth of GNP in 1986.

I decided to call David Ranson of H. C. Wainwright & Co. Economics, a forecasting firm in Boston. Ranson, who has a chemistry degree from Oxford, has been a pioneer in analyzing the "perverse" effects of announcing future tax changes. For example, Margaret Thatcher created a brief "Keynesian" boom in England by announcing an increase in the value-added tax to take effect on a certain date in 1979. Everyone went out and very sensibly bought goods before that date. Still, Ranson was not greatly concerned about the 1986 tax-cut delay. He was sticking by his own company's GNP forecast for that year. "We just raised it to 6 per cent real growth in 1986," he said.

It is a remarkable fact that the biggest and best-known forecasting firms do not use market information in developing their economic "models." Only the supply-side firms—Polyconomics and Laffer Associates in addition to Wainwright—do that. This shows the contempt that the economics profession in general still has for price information. (It remains wedded to weighty, materialistic aggregates.)

Wainwright & Co. uses a single equation to convert interest-rate data published in the *Wall Street Journal* every day into future GNP. Since it began forecasting with this elegant formula its GNP predictions have been both strikingly accurate and often at variance with the consensus. Ranson told me that if phase-in fears were well founded, and could be expected to reduce GNP growth noticeably below what he anticipated, then short-term interest rates would have to rise rapidly. In fact, interest rates dropped slightly in the days following Baker's Treasury briefing. So Ranson is sticking with his 6 per cent growth forecast.

A few days later I met Arthur Laffer at a Laffer Associates dinner in Washington. Now seeking the Republican nomination for Senator Alan Cranston's seat in California, Laffer was as cheerful and enthusiastic as ever. (But one of his assistants told me after dinner that the Laffer forecast for 1986 has been reduced to 3 from 6 per cent GNP growth, in response to the phase-in. "Interesting!" Ranson said when I told him this the next day. We shall see who is right—Laffer or Wainwright, or neither.)

Laffer was tremendously encouraged by the more widespread understanding of economic incentives in general and the key role of marginal tax rates in particular. He said that four years ago, when the top tax rate was still 70 per cent, he would not have dared hope that we would now be discussing a top rate half that level.

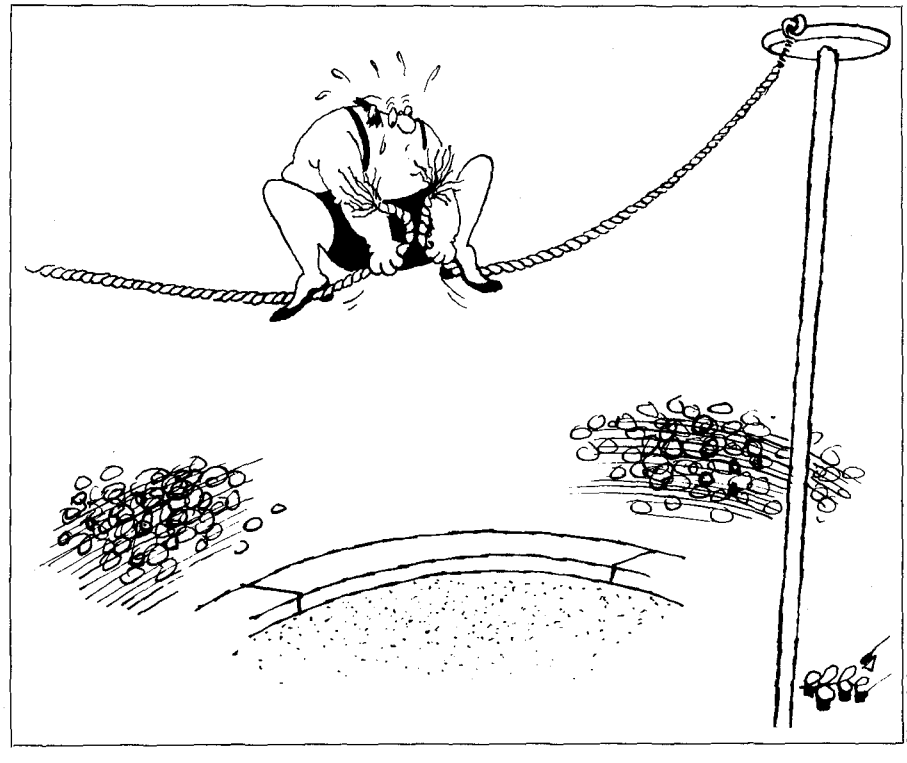
And it is true that there has been a general increase in understanding. The dreadful, hate-soaked cawing and hissing from the Left—a reduction of the tax code's progressivity will only "help the rich"—has been more subdued this year. Four years ago there was almost no public understanding of the distinction between tax rates (prices) and tax revenues (aggregates).

"Today, even economists are beginning to understand the distinction," someone told Laffer.

"That's right!" he said, bouncing happily up and down.

"You know what did it?" came the reply. "The Laffer Curve!"

Laffer took a bow, and we went in to dinner. □



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THE AWFUL ADVENT OF TOM HARKIN

IN THE second week of October 1984, Geraldine Ferraro ended a campaign swing through the Midwest with an appearance at a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in a basketball coliseum on the campus of Iowa State. Sixteen hundred dining Democrats huddled on the huge floor of that huge building, looking like cheese mites, and every single one of them, it seemed, crept across the podium to say a few words in Mrs. Ferraro's behalf. Among them was five-term congressman Tom Harkin. His rumply features, pleasant rather than comely, were not visible over those vast distances. His remarks, roaring through the concavity, were typical Democratic fare; he got two standing ovations, for a promise to "freeze right now," and a pledge that "Jerry Falwell will not write prayers" for the public schools. His manner was also standard for that campaign season. 1984 was the year of the homely virtues; Mondale and Mrs. Ferraro together cited "family values" as often as the Moral Majority. Harkin's contribution that evening was an anecdote about hearing, while doing duty with the navy at Guantánamo Bay, of the death of his father, a coal miner, from black-lung disease (the moral: More money for Medicare; the message: This veteran is the son of poor folks).

The Democrats, as we know, had slight success with these tactics, at least at the national level. Iowa, however, was a deviation. Reagan carried the state by only 8 per cent; relatively speaking, almost a Mondale landslide. Harkin, making a run for the Senate seat of Roger Jepsen, won. In his first notable act, the freshman senator traveled with another 1984 victor, John Kerry of Massachusetts, to Nicaragua, whence they returned with assurances of the Sandinistas' peacefulness. It made the news, but it was nothing new. Harkin's convictions, and connections, go back a long ways.

Harkin was born in 1939 in Cumming, Iowa, just southwest of Des Moines. He went to Iowa State on an ROTC scholarship, and spent five years—1962 to 1967—in the navy. Just where he spent them later became a matter of controversy. Harkin is fond of identifying himself as a Vietnam veteran, a designation that gives resonance to his pronouncements. BACK IN THE LAND OF WAR was the *Washington Post*'s headline over its piece describing his and Kerry's Nicaraguan jaunt. Five years earlier, Congressman Harkin had had an earnest conversation with David Broder, touching on the moral dilemmas of the combat flyer. "I don't know what I would have done if I had been ordered on bombing missions." He never faced the problem. His Asian service consisted of ferrying planes into Japan and the Philippines, and he acquired no Vietnam service ribbons.

Harkin was in Vietnam for sure, though, in 1970, when, as an aide to Representative Neal Smith (D., Iowa), he accompanied a team of congressmen touring the South. The thirty-year-old Harkin was a key figure in publicizing the so-called "tiger cages." In the deluge of horrors that has overwhelmed Indochina since 1975, the tiger cages have perhaps slipped from the memory, though they were vivid enough at the time. They were former French prison cells on Con Son Island ("inhumane torture cells," Harkin called them) sixty square feet and ten feet high, with barred ceilings under a high roof —though descriptions and photographs (taken by Harkin, looking down from the guards' catwalks) gave the impression of *oubliettes*. The story, and the ensuing uproar, coincided with, and undercut, efforts by the Nixon Administration to focus worldwide attention on North Vietnam's treatment of American POWs. Over the long run, the tiger cages became yet another illustration of the argument that the South Vietnamese did not deserve their freedom. Harkin sold his pictures to *Life* magazine for $10,000.

The Farmer's Friend

BACK HOME, he narrowly lost his first race for Congress to the 5th District's Republican incumbent. He incubated for two years as an attorney with a legal-aid society, then came back to win in the post-Watergate election. He won his re-election races with ease.

Politics in Iowa is, first and last, farm politics. Harkin knows it. In 1980, he became chairman of the Livestock, Dairy, and Poultry Subcommittee, from which he fought Reagan Administration reductions in milk price supports. In addition to specific acts of attentiveness, he has worked to cast himself in the role of the farmer's defender. In 1983, he got together a House Populist Caucus, and he criticizes government on the grounds that it is "owned lock, stock, and barrel by the big guys." He has also de-

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voted himself to periodic "work days," putting in a day as a truck driver, gas-station attendant, or farm hand. It makes the news, and he uses the film clips come election time.

But Harkin never abandoned his interest in foreign policy. His stands have been in keeping with his public debut. He opposed the MX and backed the nuclear freeze; he urged cutting aid to South Korea, El Salvador, and the *Contras*. He was a strong enemy of Radio Martí, an issue with a local angle, since one of the stations Castro threatened to jam in retaliation was Des Moines's WHO (Ronald Reagan's old station). But Harkin's rhetoric reflected his larger concerns; he proposed, as one delaying tactic, to rename the authorizing bill the "John Foster Dulles Cold-War Mentality Memorial Radio Broadcasting to Cuba Act." Harkin's partner in his endeavors has been the Institute for Policy Studies. Harkin has endorsed the institute's annual budget proposals, and lectured at the Washington School, an IPS spin-off (its 1984 catalogue carried a Harkin plug: "a refreshing change from traditional policy forums"). At a 1984 party at Stewart Mott's house—a send-off for a report on Central America by another one of IPS's *homunculi*—Harkin looked forward to November, when "if we're ready . . . not only with the policies, but with the personalities, we can get on in the right place and start to make a change."

Harkin's prospects in November were brightened by the woes of incumbent Roger Jepsen. *The New Republic* was there the night of Geraldine Ferraro's appearance at Iowa State, and its correspondent told me a joke that was going the local liberal rounds. *Q:* What state has a senator dumber than Chuck Grassley [R., Iowa]? *A:* Iowa. I don't know what Senator Grassley had done to be immortalized, but Jepsen was encumbered with difficulties. One measure of his troubles was the fact that the *best* thing that happened to him during the campaign season was the revelation that he had once gone to an X-rated massage parlor. When the story first broke, it suggested that Jepsen, a born-again Christian, was a hypocrite. But the follow-ups made clear that the naughty visit had occurred before Jepsen had been elected, or converted, and that the muckraking reporter who had uncovered the item was in cahoots with Harkin's press secretary.

Other disasters did not turn out so well. Jepsen had been stopped in Washington for a traffic violation that he had assumed was covered by senatorial privilege; the cop let him go with a warning; but, as luck would have it, among the observers of the incident was a carful of Harkin aides. The story, when it came out, had the senator imperiously tearing up his ticket. Jepsen, to make it worse, looks and sounds a little like God, and thus was the perfect foil for Harkin's down-home schtick. The heaviest burden for Jepsen, however, was the farm economy. Each week brought new tales of overextended farmers and their bankers going under. When farms fail, heads roll.

Nothing comparable stuck to Harkin. "We don't want it to come down to who's more liberal or conservative," his campaign manager told *In These Times*. Harkin concealed his abortion position (pro) in soliloquies of double talk, wrapping himself, after his fashion, in Cardinal Bernardin's "seamless garment." He began one ten-minute ramble, given in answer to a hostile question at a Des Moines high school, by declaring, "I believe as a Catholic that abortion is wrong," went on to call for an international grain reserve and to condemn "sending arms to Central America to kill women, infants, priests, and nuns. . . . I want to take the tough road," Harkin finished, "because that is the commandment Christ gave us . . . and that's my position on the abortion issue." The IPS connection never counted for much. Iowans, a local Republican told me, "would've thought it was the local utility."

On to Nicaragua

HARKIN WON, with 56 per cent of the vote, and five months later he was in Nicaragua. "Once again," he told the *Washington Post*, "a President is relying on deception, distortion, and duplicity" (*oh, those Vietnam memories*). "In the hall" outside the meeting room, the story went on, Harkin "noticed a frail old woman saying her rosary. . . . She was [Foreign Minister] Miguel d'Escoto's 85-year-old mother." When Harkin and Kerry came home with a warmed-over Sandinista proposal, Barry Goldwater accused them of violating the Logan Act, to which Harkin responded that Goldwater was "senile." That week, Harkin also took note of some pictures in *Newsweek* allegedly showing *Contras* killing a Sandinista spy. "The pictures show graphically the same kind of thing I saw in Vietnam" (*can't get it out of your mind*).

A rookie senator from a small state, with no particular pizazz, Tom Harkin is unlikely to amount to much himself. He is, however, a symptom of several things.

Harkin represents the extreme Left of farm-belt politics. Robert Dole, perhaps, represents the Right. All farm-belt politicians vote a common economic interest. It may also be that, for some common sociological reasons, the spectrum they define is now slightly left of the national center—or, at least, left of where one thinks of the farm belt as being.

Harkin's Senate race cast an interesting light on the New Liberalism whose birth pangs we read so much about. *The New Republic*, universally looked to as the chief midwife, knows perfectly well what is at stake in Nicaragua. Its editorials on the subject are cogent, and it has opened its pages to *Contra* leaders. Yet when it came time to make endorsements for the 1984 election—to choose among people who aspired to set American policy—true to its past and habits, to a hundred partisan and ideological reflexes, *The New Republic* coasted along for Harkin. There was a failure of seriousness here. Which is worse—someone who goes to a massage parlor, or someone who goes to Managua? More precisely, someone who goes to a massage parlor and regrets it, or someone who goes to Managua and laps it up? Let the record show that the bold minds at *TNR* were not bold enough to prefer the former.

Harkin, said a fellow of the American Enterprise Institute who had debated him, is "not intellectually up to being a Marxist." That is an intellectual's judgment. It would probably apply to most Americans; with a little fine-tuning, it can be transformed into a compliment. As Harkin proves, though, one doesn't have to be any kind of thoughtful left-winger. The thinking is done for you. It's in the air. Central America? Phone the Washington School. Abortion? Unpack the "seamless garment." Vietnam? Read *Life*. Better yet, appear in *Life*. The quick study from the Plains has six years to try out his lessons. □

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SOCCER MADNESS

IT WON'T LAST, but the appalling catastrophe in Brussels, where 38 spectators were killed before the start of a football match between a British team from Liverpool and an Italian team from Turin, has had a traumatic and, one may hope, salutary effect in Britain. What shook people was not just the mindless brutality, the dreadful scenes on television, but the fact that this kind of behavior cuts clean across the traditional image the British have of themselves and like to think that the rest of the world still has of them. Foreigners are expected to riot, and are despised for it by sensible law-abiding Englishmen: but these were English hooligans behaving in a way that shocked the foreigners.

There was no room for dispute about what happened; the whole world saw it on television. Yelling, drunken Liverpool supporters attacked the Italians. And far from being a solitary outrage, this was merely the latest and ugliest eruption in a swath of violence carved by British soccer fans during the past twenty years.

Less than a month earlier, fire swept through a football stadium at Bradford, killing 54 people. It was probably an accident, but the casualties were much heavier than they need have been, because the exit doors had been locked and fire extinguishers removed as a necessary precaution against hooliganism. On that same afternoon there was a riot during a football match at Leeds, in which a 15-year-old boy was killed and the nurse attending him was kicked unconscious by a thug in hobnailed boots. A few weeks before, a game at Luton exploded into a pitched battle between police in riot gear and some eight thousand creatures who had come, in special trains, from London. They ripped up the trains, they wrecked the stadium, they devastated nearby streets: more than twenty people ended the day in hospital; 31 policemen were injured.

British football fans traveling abroad have behaved, if possible, even worse. They drink on the ferry, they drink on the trains, they spend the hours before a match drinking and swaggering around the streets, breaking windows, wrecking bars, indulging in petty theft, and then arrive at the stadium bursting for a fight. Rotterdam, Paris, Turin, Madrid, Basel, Copenhagen, Luxembourg, and Brussels twice before have all suffered these fearful invasions.

Routine expressions of disapproval, unallied to any practical response, have come nowhere near the gravity of the problem. Now the carnage in Brussels has compelled at least some people concerned with British football to see themselves as others see them.

SEVERAL BRITISH commentators have been congratulating the British public on its willingness to accept collective guilt and shame: but this was only partly true. Margaret Thatcher said the right things at once on British and on Italian television, but the sports minister, Neil Macfarlane, seemed more inclined to blame the Belgian authorities for not providing, as he said he had warned them to do, strong enough defenses to contain the impending horde of British hooligans.

Most editorial writers minced no words in their condemnation: but some of the sports commentators and the representatives of British football clubs were busy trying to shuffle off the blame. There hadn't been enough Belgian police, they said; the stadium was badly constructed; the riot had been started by a group of neo-Nazis; the Italians had panicked; the troublemakers were a tiny minority, not real football fans—and so on.

Mrs. Thatcher announced in Parliament that alcohol would in future be prohibited from football grounds and football trains, and she urged exemplary punishment for the rioters. Inevitably the Labour Party leader, Neil Kinnock, wanted an inquiry into the social causes of violence. "There have been books and books, papers and papers, courses and courses on it," Mrs. Thatcher replied. "They have never found the answer: they never will, and I don't intend to ask another inquiry." That was very typical of her, a blend of common sense and anti-intellectualism.

The truth is that British professional football—its vain and complacent managers, its overpaid and overadulated players, and a large number of drunken, foul-mouthed supporters—is directly to blame. It has created and condoned an atmosphere in which hooliganism flourishes and where family parties no longer feel welcome or safe. Crowd hysteria has been deliberately cultivated. Obviously needed measures, such as the exclusion of alcohol and missiles, and more control over the admission of potential troublemakers, have been avoided because they would be difficult and would cost the clubs money.

But that isn't the whole truth. Soccer violence cannot be dissociated from violence elsewhere: from violent picketing and mass demonstrations; from the violent language of modern politics and the hooligan behavior of some politicians; from the abandonment of discipline in the schools and the irresponsibility of some teachers; from the lack of accepted religious or moral values and, conversely, the ready acceptance of ill manners and uninhibited egocentricity.

British football people talk about soccer as "our great national game": but it never has been that exactly. It is the great British working-class game, and the transformation of its fans from sober-suited Dr. Jekyll to bestial Mr. Hyde illustrates the disappearance

(Continues on page 60)

Mr. Lejeune is NR's London correspondent.

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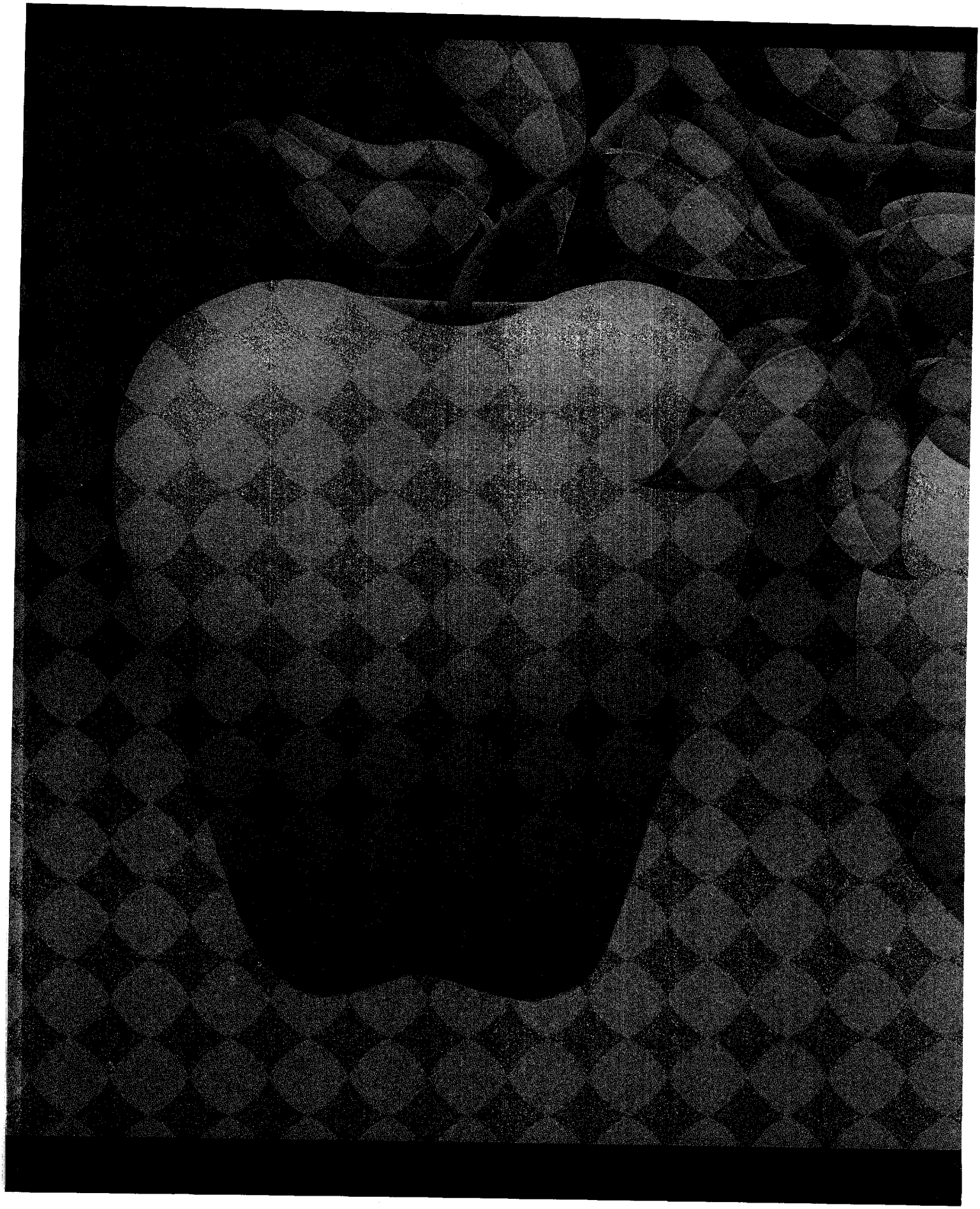

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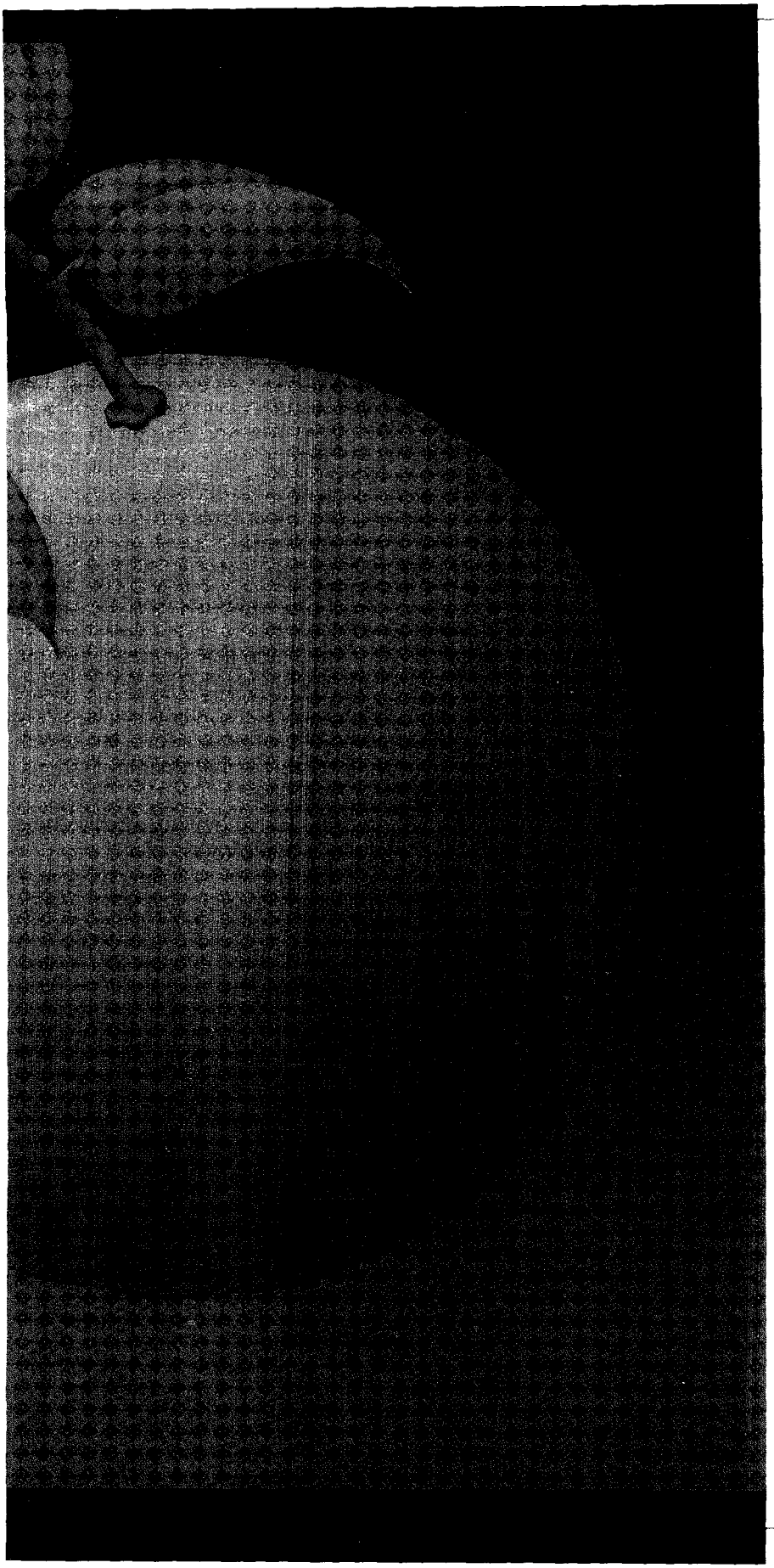

THE RACE FOR A UNIVERSAL OFFICE SYSTEM

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Too often, "systems integration" turns out to mean buying more of a

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particular vendor's products. At the core of some proposals is an open-ended commitment to a single supplier.

Few customers are eager to make such a marriage. Most are still sorting out the office of the present; they want to integrate the systems they already have.

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◇

SHOTGUN. AT&T Information Systems believes that an integrated office system shouldn't involve junking products you already own. Nor a shotgun wedding with a single supplier.

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Information Systems Architecture is not a product; it is a plan.

It defines the way the pieces of a system fit together, and the role that the whole system plays in a particular office. It does not dictate whose machines to buy – or when.

Like your company's organization chart, it outlines the relationships between "departments," but does not create policy itself.

◇

WHO'S WHO. A couple of months ago, we showed this ad to some technical experts from outside AT&T. "Where's the beef?" they asked. "Whose gear can you tie together *exactly?*" they asked. "How well *exactly?* What next... *exactly?*"

The kind of detail our technical friends had in mind would leave the average reader numb. The items that follow are rated G – suitable for the

> ***An integrated office system shouldn't have to mean junking products you already own. Nor a shotgun wedding with a single supplier.***

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We can't say what IBM's troops are up to, but many of AT&T's best and brightest are working nights to make the AT&T-IBM connection simpler, cheaper, and more complete. We will keep you posted on our progress.

◇

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A CONSERVATIVE CASE FOR LAND REFORM

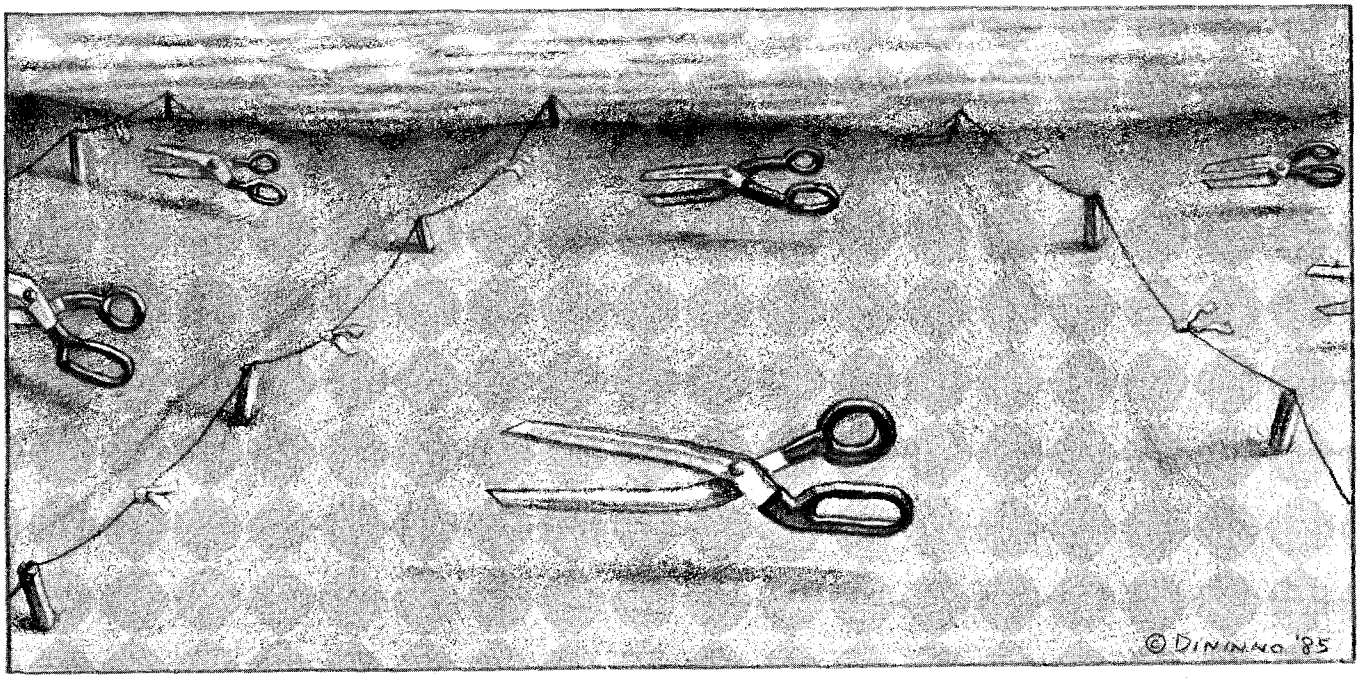
LAND REFORM rarely finds favor in the eyes of conservatives. To many of them, it smacks of redistributionism, government tinkering, and social engineering. But land reform comes in many different guises, some of which enhance the cause of freedom. It behooves conservatives to reconsider the matter.

The land reform most recently in the headlines has been the program in El Salvador, which was launched in 1979, with major backing from the United States, after a military coup by reform-minded officers. Despite much speculation to the contrary, President Reagan continued strong American support for the program, but even with his endorsement, it has drawn heavy fire from some leading conservatives.

Before she became UN ambassador, Jeane Kirkpatrick criticized the Salvadoran program as a costly and probably misguided experiment. Specifically, she objected to its slowness in paying compensation to former owners and its delay in giving title to its intended beneficiaries. Senator Helms, meanwhile, views Salvadoran land reform as a harebrained socialistic scheme from which no good can come. He sponsored an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act prohibiting aid to El Salvador for the purpose of compensation in connection with land reform. The senator believes the United States should not encourage its allies in an economically pointless assault on private property. And in the pages of NATIONAL REVIEW ["Land Grab in El Salvador," Feb. 24, 1984], Tom Bethell called the program "scandalous" for failing to pay adequate compensation to former landowners and for preventing beneficiaries from legally selling their newly acquired land.

The problems with land reform in El Salvador are real enough, but they relate primarily to the particular circumstances of that beleaguered country. Even at that, the picture is not as bleak as some accounts suggest. The history of land reform in many different countries shows that these programs work economically and, to an even greater extent, politically.

The political case for land reform is hardly radical, even though such reform has often been introduced during or after a revolution. Since the days of Tiberius Gracchus, who admonished Roman aristocrats to "relinquish a portion of your wealth lest the whole be taken from you someday," land reform has been seen as a means of conserving the social order. To understand why, one might recall the words of Tocqueville: "Nations are less disposed to make revolutions in proportion as property is augmented and distributed and as the number of those possessing it is increased." Indeed, common sense suggests that the principle of private property will be understood best and embraced most ardently when its benefits are most broadly distributed.



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Experience backs up common sense. Any twentieth-century historian familiar with land reform can attest that in Asia (Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea) and Latin America (Mexico, Bolivia, and Venezuela), once a substantial number of the landless poor acquire their own farms, the likelihood that revolutionaries will secure a base of popular support in the countryside diminishes appreciably. In many parts of the world, no more rapid and effective means exists of depriving Marxist guerrilla forces of grievances to exploit.

It may be difficult for Americans to appreciate how important owning land is to the impoverished rural families in many parts of the world, but without such ownership, few farm families in developing countries can escape grinding poverty and chronic economic insecurity. When land reform gives land to those who work it, peasant incomes rise. The farmer need no longer pay a quarter (or, in some cases, as much as half) of his crop simply to gain the privilege of working.

If this were all that land distribution accomplished, it would be worthwhile enough, but it can also increase agricultural productivity dramatically. Ownership unleashes the pent-up entrepreneurial energies of the tillers of the soil. It encourages farmers to make permanent land improvements, for they now know that the fruits of the investment will belong to them. Once a cringing dependent, the farmer now develops the ideas and habits appropriate to a free man.

Land reform also stimulates the use of labor instead of capital in the choice of farm techniques. For larger owners, land is the abundant factor of production. Consequently, they have little incentive to economize its use. For the small farmer, however, land is dear, while the resource of his own labor he enjoys in relative abundance. Consequently, even when yields per acre are the same, the labor-intensive techniques of production are preferable from the point of view of maximizing farm employment and raising the incomes of the rural poor.

It is misleading, however, to represent land reform as if it were a single policy that one can simply embrace or oppose. Tremendous differences exist in the structures—and therefore in the political, economic, and moral implications—of various programs. For one thing, land-reform programs vary greatly with respect to their treatment of former landlords. They can break up huge, semi-idle estates, haphazardly run by absentee owners, or they can turn on modern businesses whose owners have not injured society and whose expertise is difficult to replace. They may compensate either in cash, or with bonds of real value, or with worthless paper to be redeemed over many years of inflated currency.

Similarly, land reform can establish many new forms of tenure. It may allot land to individual families (Bolivia and Venezuela), to cooperatives (Mexico), or primarily to state farms (Cuba). What is more, all sorts of cooperatives abound, from credit associations to full-fledged production cooperatives like the *kibbutzim* in Israel. The political context determines whether a cooperative will be an instrument of the farmers to enhance the competitiveness of the market for agricultural services—or a tool of state control to establish monopolies detrimental to farmers.

And, of course, from the standpoint of productivity, a great deal depends on what happens *after* land reform. Governments may ignore the *campesinos*, as in Bolivia; they may run efficient programs to provide credit, education, and marketing facilities, as in Taiwan, and in Chile under the Frei government; or they may plague the new owners with stifling regulations and corrupt politics, as in the Dominican Republic.

Given this variety of possibilities, conservatives are right to fear that, under certain circumstances, drawbacks can attend land reform. In the first place, it does to some degree undermine confidence in the security of property. That is a serious consideration, because security of property is essential to all productive members of society. The lack of it discourages large-scale as well as small-scale farmers from making the effort to improve production methods. In Nicaragua, for example, after the land distribution implemented by the Sandinistas, many small farmers refused offers of government credit, fearing that defaults would lead to state confiscation: Since the government had dispossessed the large growers, the small farmers had reason to fear the same fate. In short, that land reform is best which defines most clearly the lands that are subject to expropriation and which transfers them speedily as well as unequivocally.

More seriously, one must be concerned that some land-reform programs, particularly the most ambitious ones, fail to give the beneficiaries secure title to their new property. That means that the new owners cannot obtain the credit they need to exploit their plots effectively. Sometimes the obstacles to credit inhere in the reform legislation itself, as when the law prohibits the land recipient from mortgaging his farm, in order to ensure that the land will stay in the cultivator's hands. Sometimes one finds reform attended by the proliferation of *minifundios*, tiny unimproved plots worked by a vast, underemployed rural workforce. The sight of farm after wretched farm of this sort, dotting the countryside of certain Latin American countries, has given land reform a bad name.

AFTER WORLD WAR II, GENERAL MACARTHUR DIRECTED THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT TO DEVELOP PLANS FOR REDISTRIBUTING LAND TO TENANTS, AND HIS OFFICE KEPT CLOSE WATCH ON THE PROGRAM

Notwithstanding such problems, the United States has a long history of promoting successful versions of land reform in foreign countries. Although not many Americans are aware of it, U.S. involvement in land redistribution dates back to our occupation of the Philippines, when we purchased Spanish missionary estates from the Pope and turned them over to the Filipinos working them. More importantly, after World War II, General MacArthur directed the Japanese government to develop plans for redistributing land to tenants, and his office kept close watch on both the planning and the execution of the program. Lat-

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er, the United States strongly advised Taiwan, South Korea, and South Vietnam to undertake land reform.

Three of the U.S.-sponsored programs in Asia—in Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea—rank among the most successful land reforms anywhere, at any time. Certainly the more celebrated measures of the Bolshevik, Chinese, and Mexican revolutions did not equal their success in bringing prosperity to the countryside. In Japan, the United States provided the basis for that country's transition from a semi-developed economy to an industrial giant; and in Taiwan, land reform provided a prime example in today's world of a nation's achieving rapid growth along with equitable income distribution. These efforts provided inspiration for the Salvadoran land reform. (Even the title of one crucial phase of the Salvadoran reform, "Land to the Tiller," is based on our efforts in Asia.)

By any standard of comparison to other countries in which the United States has tried to redress rural grievances, El Salvador has to be considered in particular need of such a program. On the eve of land reform, about one-half of the country's population was engaged in farming. Approximately 300,000 families worked land that did not belong to them, laboring as renters, permanent employees, or migrants. The land-reform law of 1980 set up a three-phase program. Phase I applied to El Salvador's three hundred largest estates, each consisting of more than five hundred hectares (1,235 acres), and together totaling 15 per cent of the nation's arable land. The government converted these estates into cooperatives for the benefit of almost fifty thousand families, most of whom had previously been full-time workers on the estates. Phase II was supposed to expropriate 1,700 medium-sized estates, but was temporarily suspended so as not to disrupt production of the country's main export crop, coffee. The new Salvadoran constitution of 1983 did, however, set a legal limit on the size of privately owned farms; excess acreage must now be sold to small farmers or cooperatives. Phase III, or "Land to the Tiller," theoretically made every tenant and sharecropper in the country the owner of the land he farmed. After the promulgation of Phase III in April 1980, individual beneficiaries could claim land up to 17 acres. Phase III affected approximately 20 per cent of all cropland.

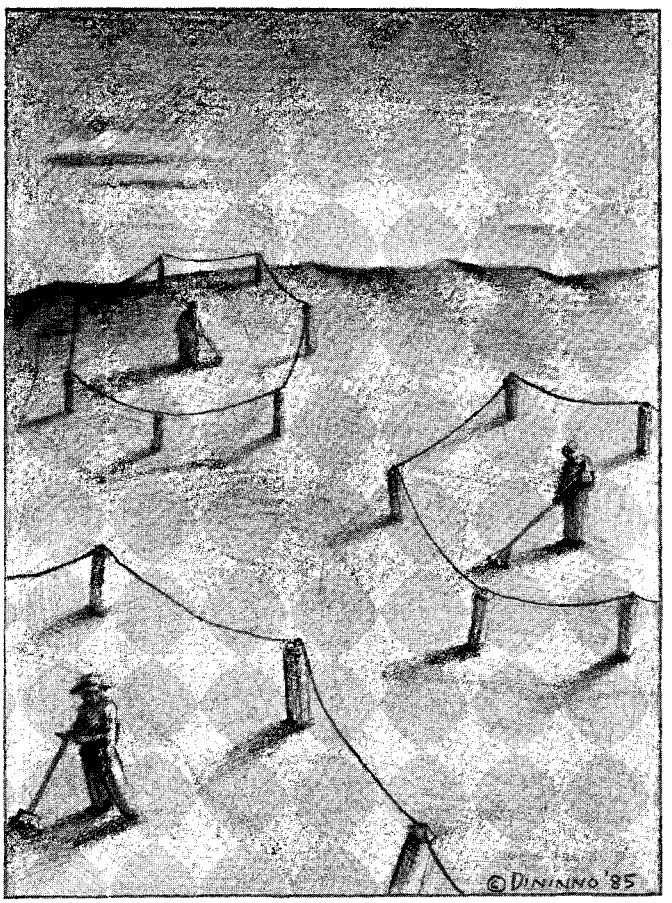
The first phase proved the easiest to implement. Several dozen of the new cooperatives had to be abandoned because of violence, and the remainder, like all agricultural operations in El Salvador, have been hurt by guerrilla sabotage. Nevertheless, the cooperatives are producing yields superior to the private sector's for all crops except sugar. By the end of 1983, 43 per cent of the Phase I properties had been paid for in cash and bonds.

Phase III, however, has been very difficult to implement and far less successful than originally envisioned. Only about fifty thousand tenants—one-third the total number of tenants in the country—applied for title to the land they were working. Because of delays and court challenges, one cannot even assume that each applicant received provisional title. Moreover, thousands were evicted from land they could legally claim, though the army reinstated some. In view of these facts, it must be assumed that many potential beneficiaries did not come forward to claim land for fear of landlord retribution.

It seems certain, then, that Salvadoran land reform will not replicate the spectacular success of the earlier U.S.-sponsored efforts in Asia. Many aspects of the agrarian problem in those countries were similar to the Salvadoran case—a large percentage of total population engaged in farming, typically small tenant farms, a high rate of population growth, etc.—but other political and social characteristics were different enough to produce a substantially different outcome. This does not mean that the Salvadoran program was not worth undertaking, but it does point to the need for evaluating the program carefully, to identify those deficiencies that might have been prevented.

All the Asian land programs were implemented more smoothly and decisively than El Salvador's, even though they were also vigorously opposed by the landlords. In Japan and Korea, the physical presence of the U.S. Army bolstered the political will of the reformers and intimidated resistance. Although landlords in Japan evicted many tenants and brought numerous court cases in order to evade expropriation, no physical violence marred either the reform or the attempts to obstruct it. In Taiwan, the reform was smoothly implemented under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, which had little sympathy for the Japanese and native Taiwanese landlords it was dispossessing.

By contrast, in El Salvador, landowners from the very start resisted the land reform by all available means, including the bribery of security forces to murder peasant leaders and potential land claimants. A curious feature of El Salvador's situation, and one that illustrates the intractability of that country's security problems, is that it was by no means always the largest owners who resorted to violence. Because Phase III outlawed all rental arrangements, without regard to the size of the landlord's holdings, many small farmers faced the loss of their lands. The Asian pro-



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grams permitted the owners to retain and rent a small portion of their land, but the Salvadoran law dispensed with this refinement, perhaps for the sake of simplicity. If so, the putative gain in efficiency was not worth the loss of crucial support. Traditions of violence, together with the sheer number of men with guns in El Salvador, ensured that land disputes were as likely to be settled by force as by the state's little-respected judicial machinery.

However, the Salvadoran reform law did afford reasonable protection for the procedural rights of the landowners. Once the government decided to acquire a property, the owner was notified at his home or through public notices in the newspapers; he had from a week to a month to decide whether to sell his land or to opt for expropriation. Thereafter, expropriation followed swiftly, speed being essential at this stage of a land reform in order to minimize decapitalization and loss of production. The government has made strenuous efforts to pay adequate compensation to former owners, with payments based on the declared 1976-77 tax value of the property. This seems to have been accepted by everyone as fair enough, though some former owners have applied for upward adjustments of the valuations because of capital improvements to the land since that time.

One can sympathize with those who consider the compensation process slow and cumbersome. This defect, however, is partly a consequence of building procedural safeguards into the law, such as allowing owners to challenge government determination of land values. Compensation *is* being paid—as of December 1983, nearly 43 per cent of the expropriated Phase I properties had been paid for in cash and bonds equivalent to about $120 million. Another 30 per cent of the properties have been approved for $87 million in compensation, with the remaining requests still being processed. Compensation in Phase III has been delayed by the refusal of many of the smaller owners to apply for it, because they await the nullification of the program—an unlikely event. Even so, compensation worth $10 million has been paid to five hundred ex-owners under Phase III.

The agrarian bonds—although traded at from 40 to 75 per cent of their face value—are not "worthless paper." The interest coupons are used in payment of certain taxes, and pending legislation would allow the bonds to be used as loan collateral and for purchase of shares in public corporations. So long as it lasts, the uncertainty as to whether El Salvador can survive as a non-Communist country will inevitably drive down the value of any long-term bond; but this same uncertainty would have depreciated Salvadoran land values even without land reform.

The most important difference between El Salvador and the Asian countries is not a matter of payment or techniques but rather of vastly different levels of human capital and organization. The Asian countries, although poor and backward like El Salvador, had nonetheless already attained much higher levels of technical and administrative capacity. In Taiwan, for example, there was little room for dispute over land claims because, years prior to the reform, a comprehensive land survey had been completed. Even today, Latin American countries can only rarely base land-reform efforts on a reliable land registry. With respect also to many other kinds of institutions needed for rural development—agricultural research and extension services, farmers' associations, credit cooperatives, etc.—the Asian countries were demonstrably far ahead of virtually every country in Latin America during most of this century.

Moreover, in the Asian cases, the typical peasant was literate and interested in new agricultural techniques. Once given land, these small farmers, on plots that are minuscule by American standards, made remarkable strides in productivity. In Japan, output grew at 3 to 4 per cent per year in the 1950s and early 1960s. In South Korea, productivity increased at 3.6 per cent per year from 1953 to 1961, and at 4.4 per cent in the 1960s. The same pattern of rapid growth, especially on small farms, could be found in Taiwan.

Not only were the Asian land recipients eager to invest in the improvement of their farm techniques; they wished to enhance their family income through long-range investment in human capital by sending their children to school, and even on to college. The high cost of this education soon led rural families to desire fewer offspring. Sharp declines in the birth rate, together with increasing levels of education, gradually transformed these Asian economies into ones in which unskilled labor was relatively scarce and thus relatively well remunerated. In such cases, land reform not only contributed to rural progress but helped to create modern economies in which the degree of inequality is considerably lower than in typical "developing" countries.

THE SALVADORAN PROGRAM HAS PERFORMED WELL IN COMPARISON TO OTHER MAJOR LAND REFORMS, AND PERHAPS VERY WELL IN VIEW OF THE DESTRUCTION CAUSED BY GUERRILLA ATTACKS ON THE ECONOMY

However, few Latin American countries can boast the high level of literacy found in these Asian countries: In 1975, a majority of El Salvador's rural population was unable to read and write. El Salvador's agrarian reform agency, the ISTA, is striving to remedy this situation, but the absence of pre-existing literacy among the farm population is obviously an obstacle to rapid rural development.

These comparisons suggest that overall conditions in El Salvador, rather than any particular technical failures, are most responsible for the shortcomings of the Salvadoran land reform. Some avoidable mistakes were made, to be sure. It was foolish, for example, to expropriate all rented land, without regard to the size of the landlord's holdings. But the Salvadoran program has also been criticized for imaginary faults. Despite the harping of critics on the issue of compensation, it has performed well in comparison to other major land reforms, and perhaps *very* well in view of the destruction caused by guerrilla attacks on the economy. The compensation—comparable to that of the Asian countries—is vastly superior to that of Mexico and Bolivia, where payments were virtually non-existent. Nor is it correct, as Tom Bethell reported in NATIONAL REVIEW, that Phase III beneficiaries cannot legally sell their land—although it is true that they can only sell it to the government land-reform agency. The most serious difficulties of the Salvadoran land reform inhere in the social context of the country, not in aspects of program design.

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The success or failure of the land-reform program in El Salvador depends very much on the yardstick used to measure it. Compared to the impressive achievements of the Asian countries, land reform in El Salvador looks like a questionable undertaking; but compared to countries of similar cultural inheritance, the Salvadoran record is not at all bad. Most importantly, the historical experience of land reform in Latin America shows that even under the far from ideal conditions prevailing in that part of the world, land redistribution brings substantial benefits to the society.

If you exclude Cuba and Nicaragua (for obvious reasons), the three major land-reform programs in Latin America to which El Salvador's can be compared are Mexico's, Bolivia's, and Venezuela's. In all three countries, beneficiaries of land reform achieved rapid gains in productivity, as did the large private farmers who remained. Indeed, the threat to expropriate "underutilized" lands may have spurred large landowners on to greater efficiency. The political consequences of land reform were even more striking. In all three countries, reform shored up the political party initiating the reform and helped to prevent the far Left from manipulating rural grievances to further its own political fortunes. In short, "radical" land reform had a stabilizing, conservative impact.

In Mexico, the land program allotted land to communal organizations called *ejidos*, although in practice each family continued to cultivate a particular plot of land. In the 1950s and 1960s, productivity on these farms improved at an average rate of 3.2 per cent per year. This was, however, a lower rate than on the large private farms (3.8 per cent) and *much* lower than on the small private farms (6.9 per cent). The communal sector appears to have been victimized by government policies ostensibly intended to benefit it.

One has to stretch a point or two to call Mexico a democracy, but it is no exaggeration to say that over the last fifty years, Mexico has had an enviable record of peaceful and orderly transfers of power. Its unbroken civilian rule has no parallel elsewhere in Latin America. Such political stability has contributed to Mexico's long-term growth rate of more than 6 per cent per year from the mid-1930s to the present. This would have been impossible without the organized support of the *campesinos*. And that support was won by the government's commitment to land reform.

In Venezuela, despite great petroleum revenues, beneficiaries of land reform received little in the way of credit or agricultural extension services. Overall, Venezuela enjoyed an annual average growth of 5.4 per cent in agricultural output during the 1960s, among the most rapid in Latin America. By the 1970s the rate had slowed to a still respectable annual average of 3.7 per cent. It is true that yields on reform lands were significantly below the national average, but one should not assume from this that the cultivators were shiftless or incompetent. Most farms in the reform category in Venezuela got there because they were either underutilized or virgin public lands—in other words, already less productive than the national average. Despite this shortcoming, however, the majority of respondents in a national survey indicated that land reform had improved their circumstances.

The political impact of land reform in Venezuela is clear. During the 1960s, massive rural voting for democratic parties undercut the strength of the leftist parties. Thus, land reform helped to stabilize the political system, and when the Communist Party foolishly opposed the program it lost face.

In Bolivia, land reform during the 1950s involved one brief but intense spasm of peasant violence. The disruption of marketing and credit facilities previously supplied by the landlord class, which fled in terror to the cities, had a negative impact on marketed output during the first years of the reform. Subsequently, however, production of many important food crops increased impressively, and living standards also improved. Politically, to be sure, Bolivia is neither democratic nor stable; but this does not mean that land reform did not have an immensely constructive impact on the lives of Bolivian *campesinos*.

Before the 1952 revolution, the Bolivian rural labor force lived under nearly feudal conditions. Indian families worked for white and *mestizo* landlords to whom they were obliged to provide a variety of labor services gratis. Indians addressed whites deferentially, with hat in hand, and distinguished "good" landlords from bad principally by the number of floggings administered. The Bolivian land reform brought change by giving land to the Indian peasants, and allowing them access to many other things previously monopolized by white landlords—such as the vote, schools, and firearms. In return, the *campesinos* have given lasting loyalty to the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement, the party of land reform. Not everyone appreciated the latter's profoundly conservative impact. Che Guevara, and the band of Cuban and Cuban-trained Bolivian fighters that he brought with him, had to learn the hard way. "The inhabitants have to be chased in order to speak with them, for they are like little animals," Guevara confided to his diary; he suspected that the *campesinos* acted as informers to the authorities, and indeed they did.

These Latin American cases show that land reform improves the economic well-being of its beneficiaries, though they also show that land reform by itself is not a panacea for rural poverty. We should remember, however, that even where governments have performed poorly, as they have all too frequently in Latin America, land reform appears on balance to have been a good thing. Americans need not apologize for their government's role in supporting such programs, and conservatives need not greet them with suspicion.

The land reform in El Salvador has been implemented under almost the worst possible conditions. Even so, the results are far from negligible. The economic impact of the measures on productivity and the well-being of the farmers may never be exactly known in a country wracked by civil war, but if past experience is any guide, they should quickly raise rural income levels. In the long run, of course, land reform will be a genuine boon only if productivity outstrips the rate of population growth—and this in turn depends on appropriate government policies in many spheres. No one can say in advance that Salvadoran leaders will choose the best policies to maximize the potential of land reform. But the purpose of land reform is not to confer wisdom on politicians, or even to transform El Salvador into a Central American version of Switzerland. It is a success when it achieves a much more modest goal, one that conservatives cherish: to give democracy and freedom a chance. □

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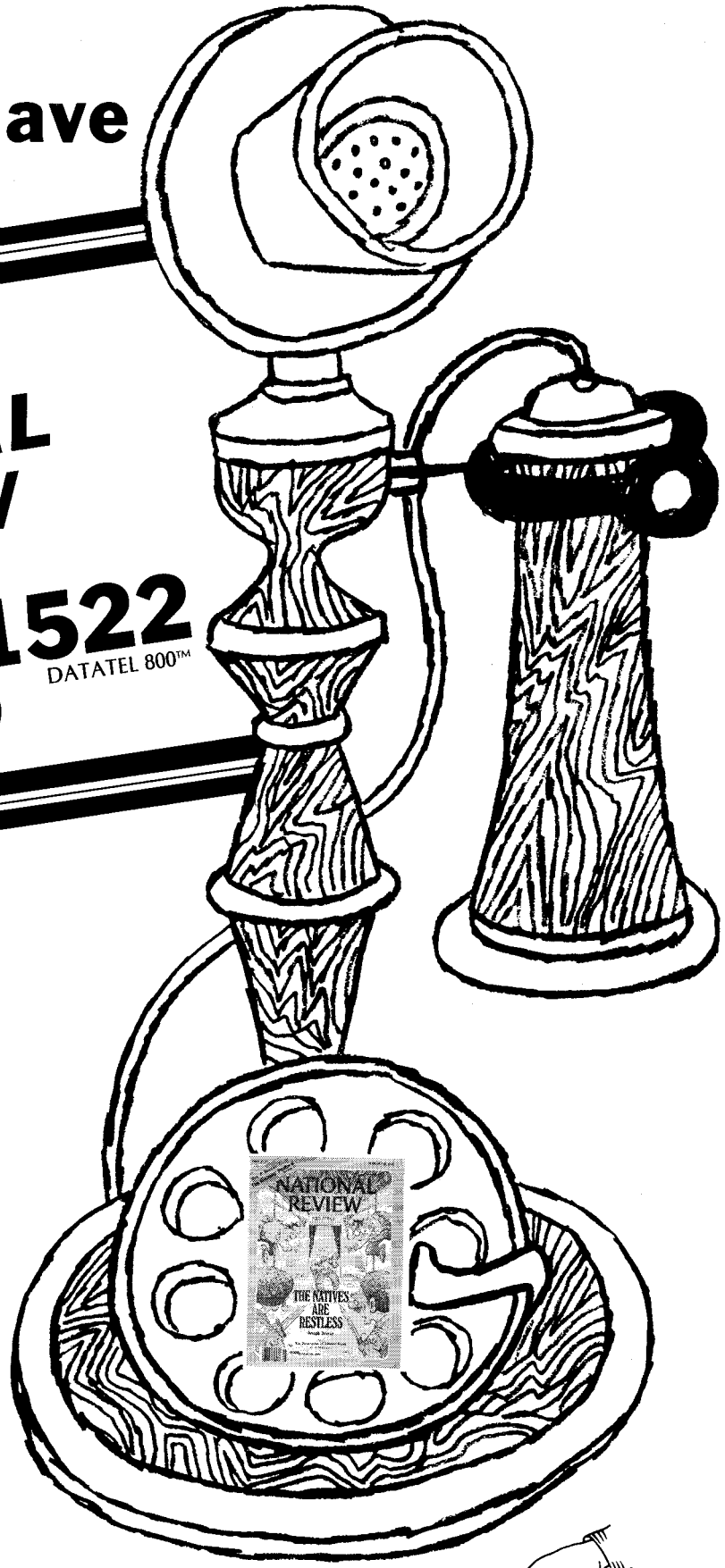

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NO TROPICAL JAMBOREE

AFTER READING recent *NR* characterizations [by Laura Ingraham and Charles Kesler] of the first world conference of young democratic leaders as a "tropical jamboree" dominated by socialists under my control, one would not be surprised to see Little Red Riding Hood indicted for attacking the Big Bad Wolf!

First the background: 1985 had been designated by the UN as International Youth Year, with the themes of Peace, Participation, and Development. Most democratic governments had no stomach for yet another propaganda fest occasioned by a UN Year—or Decade. Hence, after wide consultations, the Jamaicans in 1983 proposed a meeting of democratic youth to seek practical ways to unite this important constituency now and in the future.

This was an extraordinary initiative. For perhaps the first time ever, an attempt would be made to bring together First and Third World democracies while excluding totalitarian regimes and "national liberation" movements such as the PLO and the ANC. Needless to say the decision not to invite powerful Communist regimes provoked opposition in the bureaucratic circles one might expect in Europe and elsewhere. In spite of this opposition, and insinuations about Caribbean competence, the Jamaicans, who had just emerged from a near brush with totalitarianism, persevered.

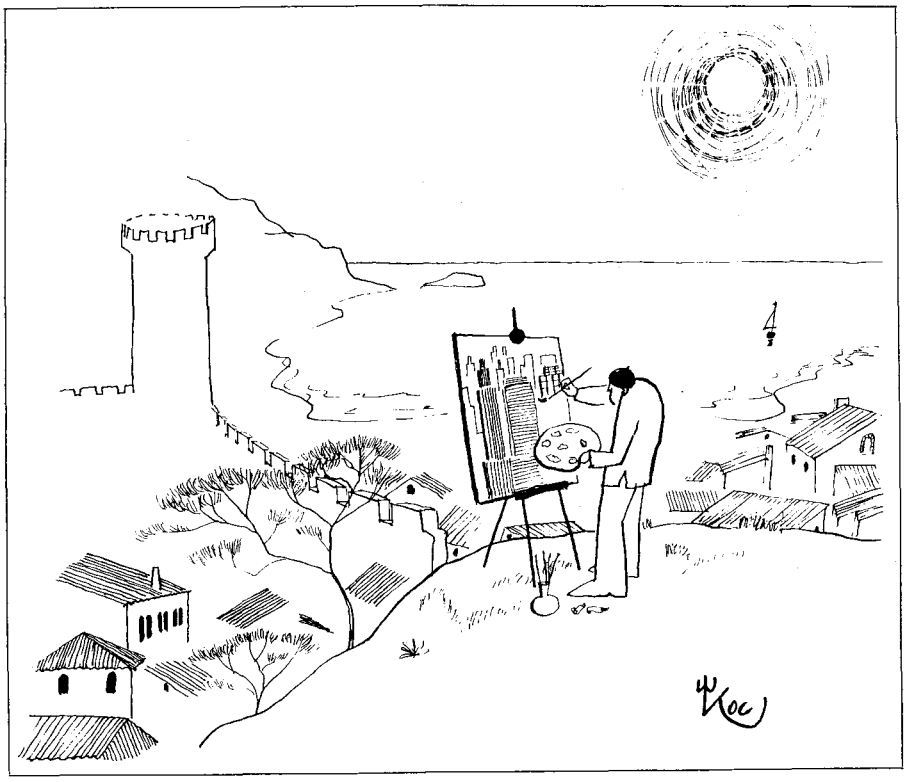
It was anticipated that at such a conference there would be major differences among diverse political tendencies and cultures. But what would unite the participants would be an unwavering commitment to freedom and coalition-building for democracy. The conference would also break the almost twenty-year monopoly enjoyed by the Kremlin in global youth activities. And, indeed, Soviet leaders promptly launched a major campaign against the Jamaicans, replete with dirty tricks. Their own massive youth festival will take place in Moscow this summer.

In 1984 the Jamaicans organized an International Youth Secretariat, comprising all shades of democratic opinion, to serve as a credentials committee and to prepare the conference working papers. The Jamaicans also sought advice and suggestions from the broadest conceivable political spectrum —ranging, in the U.S. alone, from the staffs of leading conservatives on Capitol Hill and political appointees in the Administration to the labor movement. I was a part of this process.

In early April 1985, some 1,100 young leaders, from three hundred delegations and one hundred countries, spent four days and nights debating, negotiating, and voting on a 43-clause declaration and various resolutions. (Hardly a "jamboree"—and it took place in Kingston, not at the beaches.) They gave standing ovations to Edward Seaga, Vladimir Bukovsky, Afghan freedom-fighters, and delegations from Poland's Solidarity and from the Nicaraguan, Cambodian, and Vietnamese resistance. They overwhelmingly condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, criticized apartheid in South Africa, voted down pacifist slogans, and approved a process to elect leaders of a follow-up organization.

Perhaps five of the 43 clauses in the final declaration are not entirely consistent with U.S. foreign policy. This was the democratic process at work. In spite of Miss Ingraham's and Mr. Kesler's theories (and Kremlin disinformation), no government, individual,

(Continues on page 61)



Mr. Godson is a professor of government at Georgetown University and director of the Washington office of the National Strategy Information Center. For ten years he has served as an academic advisor to U.S. youth organizations.

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nce upon a time,

long, long ago, we had what we thought was a very good idea, which was: Why not ask our own readers to help us find *new* readers? Heavens no! said wiser heads than ours (we were very new at this kind of thing), that's just plain asking too much of *anybody.* Oho, we answered, but our readers *aren't* just anybody, and we can't broadcast invitations like mass-circulation magazines and take on anyone who answers. No, the people we must look for are people very much like the readers we already have—people with similar ideas and outlook, tastes and values—the very ones, it seems logical to assume, who are much better known to *you* than to us, because they are your friends and relations and business associates, etc. And lo these many years we have asked our readers to rrriiippp out a postcard (just like the one facing this page) and use it to introduce some worthy friend to NR—give it to him with your recommendation, or use it to send an introductory gift subscription. And you have: thousands of you have done this simple but invaluable favor for us (some of you many, many times!). Without that kind of help from you, NR could never have become what indeed it has become—one of America's most influential publications. Influence someone *you* know today. **As we so often say, just use the card facing this page today!**

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ABROAD

BRASILIA *Testing Time*

President José Sarney, who succeeded the popular Tancredo Neves when the latter died in April, having barely assumed office, has weathered his first public tests and appears to be solidly in command. It is true that most Brazilian politicians have bent over backward not to disturb the transition of power following Neves's fatal illness. But now a public-opinion poll shows that 51 per cent of Brazilians think Sarney is doing well. Fewer than 5 per cent think he has done poorly. The situation, however, has increased the pressure for Brazilian heads of government to be elected by direct popular vote (Neves and Sarney were chosen by a college of electors). A new constitution would be necessary to bring this about, and jockeying for its formulation has already begun. The army is said to be against the introduction of direct popular elections next year because such an early return to the polls might denote instability. This question of constitutional change looks like becoming the meat of the new government's first major crisis.

MOSCOW *Having It All*

There seems little doubt that Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev will assume the presidency of the Soviet Union when the Supreme Soviet meets in July. He would succeed President Chernenko, who died earlier this year. It was Gorbachev himself who nominated Chernenko for the office in 1984, and at that time he referred to the desirability of the same man's holding both the Party leadership and the presidency, especially when it came to the conduct of foreign affairs.

OSLO *Danger in the Arctic*

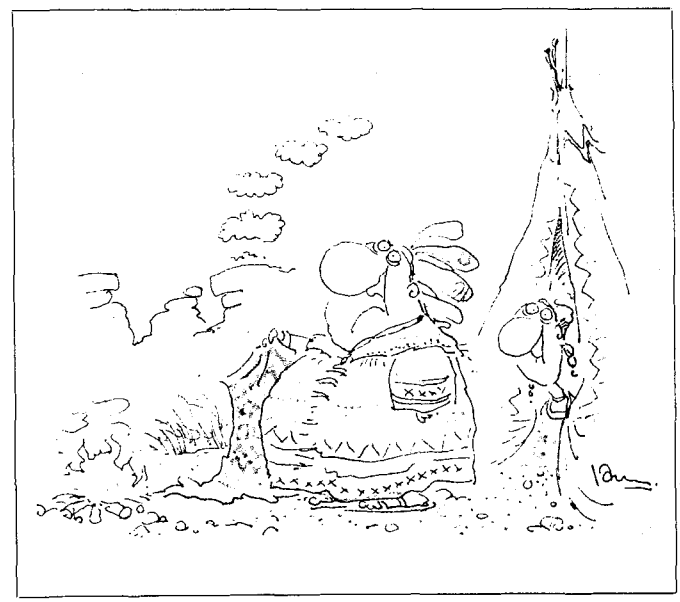
Norway's strategic position as the northern flank of NATO is receiving increased attention as Soviet forces build up their strength in the White Sea and offshore Arctic waters. The Kola Peninsula and its principal base of Murmansk have become the center of concentration for Soviet air and naval forces over the last few years. Western intelligence estimates set current Soviet naval strength in the region at 180 submarines, 200 surface ships, and 440 planes. (The submarine figure includes more than half the total of Soviet missile-carrying undersea craft.) Norway is the only NATO country other than Turkey to share a frontier directly with the Soviet Union, and its defense posture is thus governed by particular prudence. There is only one road and one rail line connecting the northernmost county of Finnmark with the south, for example, and any defense against Soviet attack would have to be conducted from the sea. Norway makes the third biggest military effort in proportion to its population of all NATO members, but as there are only four million Norwegians, the size of the country's armed forces is necessarily limited. The Norwegian air force is equipped with 72 F-16 fighter-bombers with braking parachutes to allow them to land on the short runways typical of Norwegian airfields, but these same airfields, though relatively numerous, could never accommodate large arrivals of Allied aircraft in case of attack. At the same time, the narrowness and mountainous nature of the Norwegian land corridor could be an advantage in preventing Soviet attackers from deploying their resources effectively. Meanwhile, pressure has mounted for Allied, chiefly United States, naval patrolling of northern Norwegian waters, and specifically for the use of carrier battle groups. The feeling is that the Soviets are being allowed too much freedom, especially in terms of their submarines, to maneuver at will in a commanding strategic region.

BRUSSELS *China Trade*

China's trade with Western Europe continues to accelerate rapidly, as a recent economic agreement demonstrates. The new five-year pact goes far beyond previous accords and breaks new ground in several fields, notably managerial and industrial training programs. Western Europe's exports to China doubled between 1980 and 1984, going from $1.25 billion worth of goods and services a year to $2.15 billion. On the Chinese side, exports to Europe increased in the same period to almost $2 billion, of which textiles and clothing accounted for 35 per cent. Other areas covered are biotechnology and information technology as well as the more usual ones of agriculture, transport, and mining.

LONDON *Brideshead Bernini*

A priceless portrait bust by the Italian sculptor Gianlorenzo Bernini is being offered for sale by the owners of Castle Howard in Yorkshire in an attempt to raise money to save the stately home. Castle Howard was the setting of the television series based on Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited*. The owners are the four sons of Lord Howard of Henderskelfe, who died last year. They need £3 million (nearly $4 million) to maintain the house and preserve the remaining collections while paying inheritance taxes, which means they would have to sell the statue for £4 million. While this is a high price to expect, the market for such rare objects can never be predicted, and sculpture such as this portrait of the seventeenth-century Cardinal del Pozzo rarely appears for sale. Another Italian masterpiece, the painting of the *Adoration of the Magi* by Mantegna, recently sold for more than £8 million.



Ian, *Punch* / Rothco

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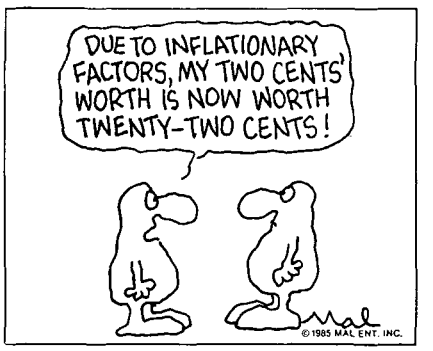
There Goes the Veneer

The gardens full of hollyhocks
And curtsies in the royal box
Still run in parallel with traits
A Dickens novel ventilates,
Though Labourites had long assumed
They'd been, with stately homes, entombed.

W. H. VON DREELE



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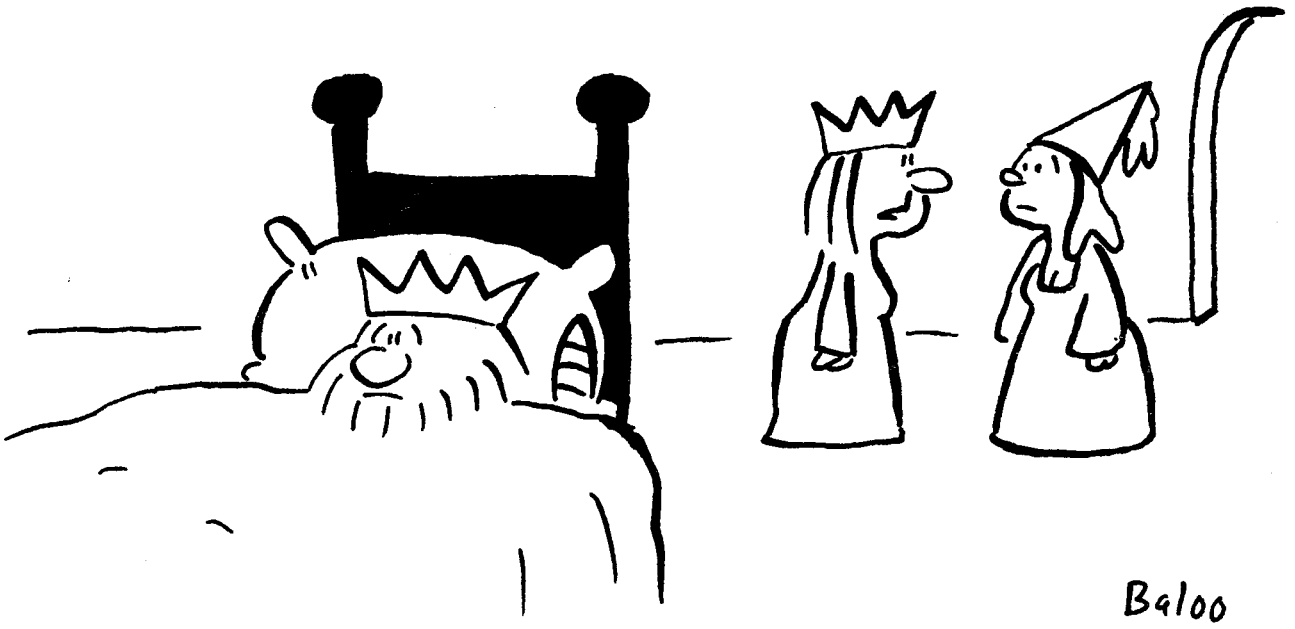

"He threw his back out trying to balance the budget."

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BUILD UP, BUILD DOWN

Dinesh D'Souza

How to Make Nuclear Weapons Obsolete, by Robert Jastrow (Little, Brown, 175 pp., $15.95)

ONE REASON we aren't hearing much these days from the nuclear-freeze movement, which only three years ago assembled half a million supporters in New York City, is that President Reagan, with his March 1983 speech advocating strategic defense as a means to "make nuclear weapons obsolete," appropriated its objectives and rhetoric.

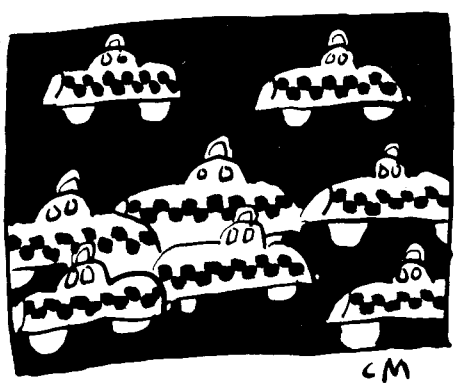
Not many Americans know, Robert Jastrow writes, that "for 13 years the official policy of the U.S. Government has been to keep the American people defenseless against a Soviet nuclear attack." Fewer still realize that the loudest voices calling for arms control are also the most strident critics of efforts by the U.S. to build such a defense—they prefer an equitable balance of terror to disarmament. Paul Warnke, President Carter's chief arms-control negotiator, called efforts to move away from Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) "dangerous."

Two main arguments are advanced against strategic defense. First, that it won't work—that it is a "pie in the sky," as Richard Garwin of the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) put it. Second, that it is destabilizing because "the Soviets may be tempted to launch a pre-emptive strike" aimed at a system designed to render their arsenal virtually harmless (as another UCS report claimed). In the 1984 campaign, Walter Mondale also warned against the prospect of "an arms race in the heavens."

These arguments are contradictory, since, if strategic defense cannot work —if it is indeed a proposal out of a science-fiction novel—then the Soviets could hardly be worried about the U.S. spending $26 billion on a hopeless boondoggle, and Mondale would not have to fret over the risks of celestial contamination. The real reason strategic defense upsets the arms-control establishment in the U.S., as well as the generals in the Kremlin, is that it threatens to dispense with the balance of terror—with MAD—and to give the West defensive insurance against a Soviet missile attack.

Professor Jastrow, the founder of NASA's Institute for Space Studies and one of the nation's outstanding physicists, examines in some detail the technological reasons why some missile defense is viable now and a near-perfect defense is a reasonable hope for the future. In the process, he demolishes the case against strategic defense advanced by the UCS, whose acknowledged error by a factor of 1,600 in estimating the number of satellites needed to counter a Soviet attack should disqualify it from further participation in the debate.

Jastrow calls for a two-tiered defense—a boost-phase defense, which would explode Soviet missiles as they rose above the atmosphere, destroying both the missile and all its warheads, and a terminal-phase defense, which would intercept the warheads at the end of their trajectories, as they arced toward their targets in the United States. After a fascinating discussion of such defensive weapons as the "smart bullet," electromagnetic railgun, neutral-particle beam, and X-ray laser, Jastrow concludes, "The technologies are already in hand that will allow us to put into place in the early 1990s a simple but highly effective defense at a cost of $60 billion. A conservative estimate of the effectiveness of this defense is 90 per cent."



Critics are right in arguing that strategic defense can never provide a perfect defense against Soviet attack: No defense is 100 per cent reliable. But Jastrow points out that this is hardly an argument against its implementation. The fact that a bulletproof vest is not guaranteed to save your life is not a strong justification for eschewing it when you are in danger. Surely it is better to have a defense that could save 200 million lives than to have no defense and jeopardize everybody.

Even more important, strategic defense would reinforce deterrence, because it would "greatly complicate the planning of a [Soviet] first strike," as Zbigniew Brzezinski put it. A defense of U.S. silos, even a partial defense, would increase the uncertainty of a Soviet missile attack and multiply the probability of a devastating U.S. response. Those who claim that strategic defense will undermine deterrence confuse deterrence with MAD, Jastrow argues.

Dinesh D'Souza is managing editor of Policy Review.

Victor Gold's latest book is PR as in President.

Thomas P. McDonnell is the editor of Blaze of Recognition: Daily Meditations from the Writings of Thomas Merton.

Jeffrey Meyers is the author of Disease and the Novel *and the forthcoming* Hemingway: A Biography, *shortly to be published by Harper & Row.*

Richard John Neuhaus, author of The Naked Public Square, *is director of the Rockford Institute's Center on Religion and Society in New York City.*

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RANDOM NOTES

☐ More June Titles: In *We* Can *Prevent World War III* (Jameson Books/Kampmann, $13.95), Sam Cohen argues that, while NATO's strategy for containing the Soviet Union in a limited European war is unfeasible and current American nuclear strategy is ill-devised for victory in atomic war, a comprehensive, home-oriented, military and civil-defense build-up based upon a mobile force of scattered-component missiles in perpetual motion around the country could deter the Soviets from surprise attack and thus prevent World War III from ever taking place. . . . *Observations: Selected Speeches and Essays 1982-1984* (Little, Brown, $17.95), by Henry Kissinger, advocates the development of long-term strategies to deal with such foreign-policy dilemmas as arms control, the Soviet presence in Central America, and Arab-Israeli tensions. . . . *Clausewitz: Philosopher of War* (Prentice-Hall, $17.95), by Raymond Aron and translated by Christine Booker and Norman Stone, stresses the relevance of the nineteenth-century Prussian officer's ideas concerning warfare, in particular his belief in the necessity for subordinating military decisions to policy ones.

In *Decline and Fail: The Ailing Nuclear Power Industry* (Dodd, Mead, $16.95), Peter Stoler describes the woes of the nuclear-power industry in America, which he claims has been brought to a virtual halt by the anti-nuke and environmentalist lobbies, as well as by popular nervousness. His conclusion is that as the need for nuclear energy becomes increasingly apparent, the industry's fortunes will revive.

Israel in America: A Too-Comfortable Exile? (Bacon, $14.95), by Jacob Neusner, musing upon the question of what people do because they are Jewish, examines the implications of American democracy for the future of Judaism.

☐ Left Over from May: *The Politics of the American Civil Liberties Union* (Transaction, $29.95), by William A. Donohue, is a critical analysis of the history of the American Civil Liberties Union, as well as of the liberal tradition it represents. Donohue is a tough-minded scholar, and the objects of his study will not be amused by his presumptions. —CW

Jastrow is unduly enthusiastic, I think, about President Reagan's offer to turn over strategic-defense technology to the Soviets in order to dispel their fears about an emerging U.S. nuclear superiority, and to assuage critics who say strategic defense is "destabilizing." If the U.S. didn't share its technology, and the Soviets tried to develop their own missile defense (as they have in fact been doing since 1968), that would be stabilizing too. What's wrong with a *defensive* arms race, in which both sides don ever-thicker coats of armor? That would make the chance of a successful nuclear strike by either side increasingly remote.

Of course, the Soviets could attempt to overwhelm our strategic defense by building more ICBMs, but that won't work, according to Jastrow, because the ratio of costs favors defense over offense. If the U.S. had a 75 per cent defense—one that would absorb three-quarters of a Soviet strike—then the Soviets would have to build four times as many missiles to maintain their current threat. "For every billion-dollar satellite we add to our defense, the Soviets must spend $2.3 billion to counter it," Jastrow estimates. "If they tried to overwhelm our defenses, they would go bankrupt."

What only a few in the disarmament camp have seen is that strategic defense is a form of arms control. If both the U.S. and the USSR had a 50 per cent defense, for example, that would be equivalent to both sides abiding by an arms-control agreement to dismantle half their nuclear arsenals. If the U.S. had a 75 per cent defense and the USSR a 25 per cent defense, that could be viewed as a very favorable arms-control treaty. Needless to say, even optimistic negotiators like Paul Warnke don't see treaties getting rid of thousands of warheads as realistic in the foreseeable future.

This recognition has lured many spokesmen for the peace movement over to the cause of strategic defense. Jonathan Schell has come out against MAD and for some form of strategic defense. Freeman Dyson, in his latest book, argues that defense technology "can give useful support to the political movements and arms-control treaties which will finally put an end to the technology of mass destruction." And the Brookings Institution describes proposals to protect U.S. silos from attack as "technically achievable" and "very useful." The old nuclear-freeze consensus has split into a pro-defense disarmament camp and an anti-defense arms-control camp.

Jastrow's angle on this aspect of the strategic-defense debate—derived, it seems, from Schell—is that because strategic defense enhances deterrence and provides insurance against the enormous risks of verification, it makes arms-control agreements more likely, and would place the U.S. in the position, once a protective defense was in place, of being able to make a bold initiative (say the unilateral destruction of five hundred warheads) to encourage a reciprocal Soviet response. Thus a defensive build-up can facilitate an offensive build-down, and we can steadily move toward what Schell calls "the abolition," or what Jastrow foresees as the day when "our defense will protect the American people from the threat of destruction." ☐

THE SOUL OF AMERICAN POLITICS

Richard John Neuhaus

The Lost Soul of American Politics, by John P. Diggins (Basic, 409 pp., $23.95)

It may not be the way most of us think of politics but, at least in the classical tradition, politics is a moral enterprise. This does not mean that politics is typically conducted in a morally elevated, or even morally acceptable, manner. It does mean that politics addresses questions of right and wrong. Politics deals with the public dimensions of the virtuous life. Or so Aristotle, for one, believed. He left no doubt that his *Politics* was an extension of his *Ethics*. According to Aristotle, *the* question with which politics begins and to which it ever returns is simply this: How ought we to live together?

We Americans have never been entirely at ease with this classical definition of politics. Some who fancy themselves realists claim that talk about morality only obscures the plain fact that politics is about the getting and keeping of power over other people. Others, usually of a liberal persuasion, say that American politics is a matter of brokering interests, of fine-tuning the countervailing forces from which, somehow, something like the common good will emerge. Yet others—some calling themselves liberal and some calling themselves conservative—are less impressed by the common good than by the evil that is common to our hu-

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man condition. Politics, they say, has less to do with the pursuit of virtue than with the containment of viciousness. The genius of our Constitution, they claim, is that it recognizes the doleful fact of human depravity and establishes mechanisms for protecting us all from the general nastiness to which we are prone.

From the time of the Founding to the present, Richard Hofstadter wrote, America has been "a democracy of cupidity rather than a democracy of fraternity." In *The Lost Soul of American Politics*, a study of "the foundations of liberalism," John P. Diggins of the University of California at Irvine argues that there wasn't all that much difference between Madison and Hamilton. "One expression of liberalism valued freedom, autonomy, and sufficiency of the individual, the other power, stability, and the efficacy of the state. Both identified happiness with property and material pleasure; neither committed America to political ideals that appealed to man's higher nature. Individualism provided the means by which Americans could pursue their interests, pluralism the means by which they could protect them."

Compared with John Adams, for example, "Machiavelli emerges as a utopian moralist who expects too much of man," Diggins writes. Adams criticizes Machiavelli because "the Renaissance philosopher was not doing precisely what he has come to be celebrated for doing—telling the truth about humanity." In Diggins's telling of the story, the Founders played up "republican virtue" in 1776 in order to justify the war of independence. But, come 1787 and the serious business of putting together a constitutional structure, talk about virtue was "a luxury of political rhetoric [that] had to be exposed as a dangerous illusion." In this view, the Constitution has nothing to say about how human beings ought to live together; its sole concern is preventing human predators from doing one another in. It is not a morally elevated or elevating vision. It is politics without a soul.

Diggins offers a richly textured narrative that is sometimes distractingly luxuriant in literary and historical detail. His judgments are frequently revisionist to the point of seeming eccentric. Yet even when unconvincing they are almost unfailingly provocative. Least convincing is his conclusion that,

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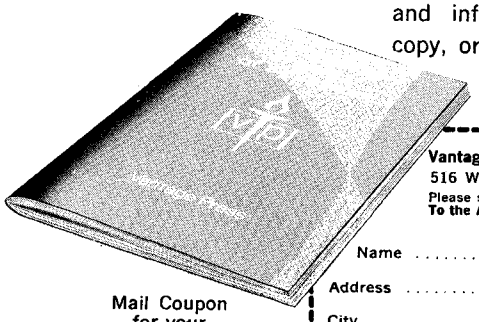

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with respect to "the lost soul of American politics," there is today—as a certain Southern governor might put it—not a dime's worth of difference between liberalism and conservatism. "Seeing no essential tension between interest and virtue, liberalism and conservatism alike seem to want to deny the reality of moral conflict and the grandeur of its responsibilities." Diggins believes there was a time of moral conflict and grandeur. His story of American politics is the story of the soul lost and found and lost, perhaps never to be found again.

The time of moral conflict and grandeur was definitely not the Founding period, according to Diggins. True, some of the Founders were mightily impressed that theirs was the first major attempt at republican government since the fall of Rome. But the Founders had also made a deal with Locke and liberalism, and the price of that deal was a sharp break with the classical tradition. Therein, writes Diggins, "lies the dilemma of American politics": "Classical political philosophy aims to discipline man's desires and raise him far above his vulgar wants; liberalism promises to realize desires and satisfy wants." The result is that in the American tradition the meaning of virtue was turned on its head. Virtue no longer means self-restraint but self-satisfaction. This reversal is best exemplified by Benjamin Franklin's statement that a person acting "contrary to his Inclination is not practicing the reasonable Science of Virtue, but is lunatik."

"Ultimately," Diggins writes, "the idea of virtue had no determinative content, no transcendent quality that stood over and against the objective world of power and interests, no moral vision that inspired the individual to identify with values higher than his own interests. . . . Classical republican rhetoric could achieve little more than negative freedom, freedom from political power and public authority, freedom for man to pursue his own ends, individual freedom—in a word, liberalism." (And, Diggins would add, what today is called conservatism.) The Declaration of Independence included a doctrine of rights that had "ontological foundations" in the laws of nature and of God, or "classical foundations" in the ideas of Montesquieu and Machiavelli. But by the time we get to the Constitution, everything has been reduced to the question of power.

It is this alleged reductionism that Diggins deplores as the loss of soul in American politics. The rhetoric of republican virtue notwithstanding, "Jefferson turns classical politics on its head by distinguishing the private from the public sphere." Virtue is reduced to the "pursuit of happiness," and that pursuit, in turn, is confined to the private sphere. It is an enterprise that "government has no business defining, much less promoting." Politics is in no way regenerative or redemptive; it is not premised upon the possibility of virtue. John Adams wrote, "There is no man so blind as not to see that to talk of founding a government upon a supposition that nations and great bodies of men, left to themselves, will practice a course of self-denial is either to babble like a new-born infant or to deceive like an unprincipled impostor." Because its authors posited a citizenry incapable of or unwilling to defer to the general good, "the Constitution's mechanisms were so structured as to render men not so much virtuous as harmless." It is little wonder that John Adams believed that "We must therefore descend from the dignity of our nature when we think of civil government at all." Clearly, this is not the politics of moral grandeur for which John Diggins and so many others long.

Just as clearly, Diggins is not happy with Tocqueville's alternative version of the genius of American democracy. And that is because Tocqueville shifts attention from the state to the society. He is less concerned about the formal polity and its philosophical legitimations than he is about the "habits of heart" by which Americans go about their everyday business of living together. In this view, Diggins complains, "the state could scarcely make its presence felt save as a threat to liberty." Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* attends to the political and legal structures of the country, but the emphasis is upon the diversity and voluntary associationalism of a people skeptical of state power. It is not political theory or authority but an understanding of social relations that explains American democracy, according to Tocqueville.

"What serves as a tie to these diverse elements?" Tocqueville wrote to a friend. "What makes of them a people? *Interest.* That's the secret. Individual interest which sticks through at each instant, *interest* which, moreover, comes out in the open and calls itself a social theory. We are a long way from the ancient republics, it must be admitted, and yet this people is republican, and I don't doubt it will long remain so." Tocqueville readily admitted that this "self-interest rightly understood is not at all a sublime doctrine." It does not aim at moral grandeur. But people can grasp it, and it is "wonderfully agreeable to human weaknesses": "By itself it cannot make a man virtuous, but its discipline shapes a lot of orderly, temperate, moderate, careful, and self-controlled citizens. If it does not lead the will directly to virtue, it establishes habits which unconsciously turn it that way."

Tocqueville's description of what makes American democracy work is, however banal, not unattractive, in Diggins's view. But, he says, Tocqueville's America did not last for long. To substantiate this claim, we are of-

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fered page upon page of Henry Adams's withering critique of industrializing America's materialistic corruption. "Self-interest rightly understood" has degenerated into commercial rapaciousness, we are told. The classical tradition of public virtue having given way to Tocqueville's alternative of democratic social relations, which had been discarded in its turn, the stage was now empty for a new statement of America's self-understanding.

Enter Abraham Lincoln, with Herman Melville by his side to provide metaphysical commentary. Lincoln supplied "the soul of American politics." He is "the conscience of liberalism." He elevated the vision of 1776 above the plumbing of 1787. "Not until Lincoln would religion be joined to politics to show how the *Angst* of spiritual passion can preserve the Republic." The abolitionism of which Lincoln became the instrument brought to the forefront of political debate what Madision had warned against—a politics of "principle" based on religious "zeal." Souls such as Lincoln and Melville realized that democracy is a moral proposition, attended by doctrines that Lincoln did not hesitate to call a "political religion": "In Lincoln the tension between classical politics and Christian values—between law and conscience, policy and magnanimity, an ethic of practical consequences and an ethic of ultimate convictions—would reach an apotheosis." "In attempting to do the impossible," Diggins writes, "to endow politics and economics with idealism in order to elevate both beyond the squalid reality of power and interests, Lincoln stands as a tragic hero who set out to sanctify the secular and profane. 'He who seeks the salvation of souls,' warned Weber, 'should not seek it along the avenue of politics.' "

Yet it is argued that the greatness of Lincoln, and the soul of American politics, lies precisely in the attempt to do that impossible. This despite Diggins's concluding and utterly self-contradictory assertion that "Lincoln recognized that in the struggle to survive, the statesman must restrain himself from seeing history as the battlefield of right and wrong, praise and blame, innocence and guilt." Until this point, Diggins has portrayed Lincoln, correctly, as a statesman who did, with singular wisdom and humility, see himself as an actor on such a battlefield of history. Despite his concluding statement about Lincoln, it would seem that Diggins wants politics to be moral drama, and his entire book may be viewed as an elegy for the last American leader to rise to the occasion.

The Lost Soul of American Politics is in many respects a powerful tale, but it goes out with conventional whimpers. The last chapter takes a few kicks at what the author considers to be the moral posturing of Ronald Reagan, laments conservative (read libertarian) and liberal refusals to face up to the tension between interest and virtue, and says the usual things about the squalid self-seeking habits of the American people. That chapter reads like the ending of a book much less interesting than this one. For whatever reason, the author does not follow through on what it might mean today to reconstitute politics as a moral enterprise. Perhaps he does not follow through because he has not thought it through. Perhaps he does not want to give offense or, God forfend, be mistaken for someone sympathetic to the concerns of those kooky moral majoritarians.

There are enprincipled conflicts in the public arena today—notably but not exclusively the abortion debate—which Diggins does not mention. The controversies of recent years over religion and politics are likewise ignored. It is as though the Civil War were

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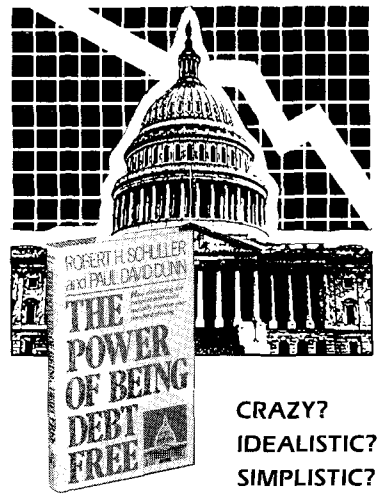

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the last time Americans reflected on the meaning of virtue and politics, morality and power. This reviewer will take second place to none in admiration for Abraham Lincoln, but we do not have another Lincoln and should not want another civil war.

Politics can be engaged with moral seriousness short of "moral conflict and grandeur." And, Henry Adams notwithstanding, we may suspect that most Americans still live in Tocqueville's political world of a "self-interest rightly understood" that is conducive to those modest virtues required for republican governance. They are not indifferent to moral vision, although some authors may be indifferent, at best, to the visions to which the people respond—such as the vision of an American purpose advanced by Ronald Reagan. It is true, however, that their politics relate more to penultimates than to ultimates. Since most of these Americans already profess a religion, they, unlike John Diggins and too many others, are not looking for politics as a religion or the state as a church. The soul, they might tell Mr. Diggins, is too high a price to pay for restoring "the lost soul of American politics." □

MODERN TIMES

Victor Gold

Some Survived, by Manny Lawton (Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 295 pp., $16.95)

GENERAL RULE: Be wary of books recommended by reviewers as *must* reading. A reviewer who asseverates that a given book *must* be read is saying, more often than not, "You might find this tedious, but it's for your own good"—e.g., most books written by John Hersey, all books written by Jonathan Schell.

Now, an exception: former U.S. Army Captain Marion R. "Manny" Lawton's gripping chronicle of his three and a half years as a slave-prisoner of the Japanese, from his capture at the fall of Bataan in April 1942 to the enemy's surrender in August 1945. To be sure, Lawton is not a professional stylist; but his straightforward account of the horrors visited on American POWs by their Japanese captors four decades ago should be read, most especially, by post-World War II Americans nurtured on network docudramas and yearly candlelight vigils on the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima.

Indeed, the fortieth anniversary of the end of World War II, as *New York Times* television critic John O'Connor has remarked, is "an event being officially noted with painstaking diplomacy so as not to embarrass defeated enemies who are now powerful allies." Unofficially, of course, the medium that O'Connor reports on has taken pains—as with the saturation network coverage of the February anniversary of the bombing of Dresden—to convert this commemorative year into an orgy of recrimination against the Allies: *Was the firebombing of Dresden necessary? Why didn't American or British bombers destroy the rail links carrying Nazi victims to concentration camps?*

Then there is the ongoing indictment of the United States as a racist, ethnocentric nation, whose leaders needlessly used the atomic bomb against the Japanese and wrongly executed the commanders of the emperor's army in the Philippines: *Would we have dropped the A-bomb on a white rather than a yellow population? In trying Generals Yamashita and Homma as war criminals, was MacArthur exacting vengeance rather than justice?*

Some Survived, subtitled *An Epic Account of Japanese Captivity during World War II*, is an answer not only to revisionist polemics but to any question as to why, even after forty years, there are some differences between former enemies that can be sublimated but not reconciled. Manny Lawton himself has forgiven his former captors, drawing on the same deep well of Christian faith that sustained him through his 41-month ordeal of torture, hunger, and disease. But the testimony of this book reminds us of what things were like four decades ago, when the Japanese were a cruel, unremitting enemy whose own ethnocentrism denied the humanity of other nations and peoples.

"David, how was the March for you?" Lawton recalls asking his fellow South Carolinian, Corporal David Peace, when the brutalized remnants of American troops taken at Bataan and Corregidor arrived at Camp Cabanatuan. Corporal Peace's reply:

> "Well, to begin with, I had two bullet wounds in my leg which gave me a lot of trouble. Somehow, though, I managed to keep going. But I saw some terrible things. The worst was seeing my good buddy, John Wyatt . . . get beaten to death with a rifle butt. That Jap kept hitting him after he was down and out. It was horrible. . . . At another place two men, tired and weak, had dropped back from the group ahead of us. They were shot right in front of us and we had to walk over them. They weren't dead yet and were begging for help. It was pathetic, but we couldn't stop and couldn't walk around them."

Nor was that the worst. Though the author's style is understated, this is not a book to be read for enjoyment on a summer beach. Manny Lawton's friend went on to tell of Americans buried alive, up to their necks, only their heads and hands above ground: " 'As we marched by, they were feebly scratching the dirt with their fingers and pleading for help. We could do nothing.' "

Corporal Peace's eyewitness story, writes Lawton, "put together with similar ones from other prisoners, painted a hideous picture of savage and inhumane brutality, unbelievable in modern times. But they were true. . . . In retrospect, it appears that we were considered less than human, and our lives meant nothing to the Japanese."

Of the 12,000 Americans who fought at Bataan with Lawton, half would suffer "lonely, cruel, inglorious deaths" within the first six months of captivity. Four thousand more, including U.S. troops captured at Corregidor, would die aboard the notorious "hell ships" dispatched by the Japanese in late 1944 to bring their American captives from the Philippines to Japan and Korea. Into a darkened ship's hold that

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could accommodate 250 men, the Japanese packed "eight hundred gasping, sweltering prisoners," their "sweating bodies recoiling like panic-stricken animals" from the rifle-butt blows of Japanese guards. No water, no food, a dwindling oxygen supply. Writes Lawton: "Fifty men . . . perished during the night . . . mostly victims of heat prostration and suffocation. Some, however, had lost their lives to fellow prisoners who, crazed by the lack of water, had decided in their lunacy that human blood would quench their terrible thirst."

The author was among the blessed number who survived the brutality of the "hell ships" and more, until, with the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, his ordeal and that of his fellow captives came to an end. As we enter into the climactic summer months of this commemorative year, we will no doubt be hearing and reading a great deal about the morality of President Truman's decision to use the Bomb. There are those—count on seeing them on TV the first week of August—who insist that even without the Bomb, the Japanese would have surrendered in short order: *What difference would three months, six months, even a year, have made, considering the awful moral consequences of Truman's decision?*

Let such selective moralists read this book to find out. Let them ask Manny Lawton what three months, six months, another year of captivity would have meant to those who have burned into their memory, and their very soul, the history that made Hiroshima not only a necessity but a moral duty for any American President. □

THE PRESENCE OF GRACE

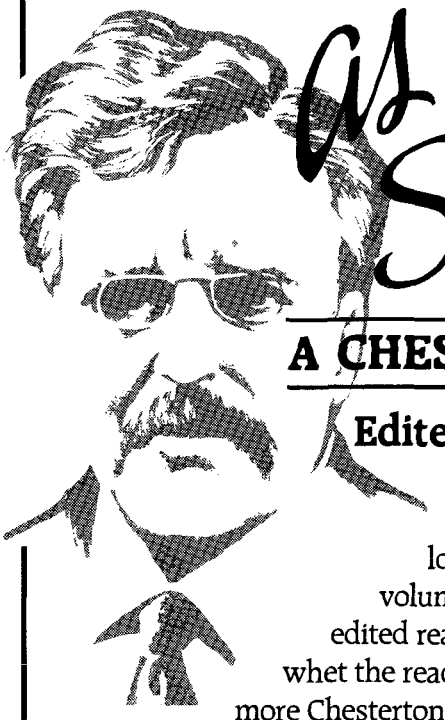
Jeffrey Meyers

The Dangerous Summer, by Ernest Hemingway (Scribner's, 228 pp., $17.95)

HEMINGWAY'S BIBLE of bullfighting, *Death in the Afternoon* (1932), explains why he was drawn to this deadly ritual that emphasizes strict rules, extreme compression, skillful technique, pagan drama, and high courage. Hemingway—partly because he liked to kill animals and had nearly been killed himself—enjoyed the evocation of violence and the "sweet smell" of blood. He observed that bulls were the only animals deliberately bred to kill humans and that the *corrida* satisfied his need to study the elemental quality of death: "The only place where you could see life and death, i.e., violent death now that the wars were over, was in the bullring."

He thought the writer, like the matador, must create and live his own style, express it in art and action. He believed the matador achieved release from the fear of death by conquering fear and administering death. And he saw a close connection between killing and creating. The bullfighter, who mocks mortality and converts it to art, has the rare chance of overcoming death and becoming (for an instant) immortal.

In the last decade of his life, Hemingway attempted to recapture the past by returning to Africa, Paris, and Spain, and by writing again about the places that had inspired him in the 1920s and 1930s. In the summer of 1959—between *The Old Man and the Sea* and the completion of *A Moveable*



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Feast—he contracted with *Life* magazine to write a series of articles on the personal and professional rivalry of the two greatest bullfighters since the death of Manolete in 1947: Luis Miguel Dominguín and Antonio Ordóñez. *The Dangerous Summer* narrated "the gradual destruction of one person by another with all the things that led up to it and made it."

The first draft of 120,000 words was cut to seventy thousand for serial publication in September 1960, and has now been judiciously reduced to a handsomely designed volume of 45,000 words. Among the passages cut from the magazine version were Hemingway's ill-advised condemnation of Manolete's "cheap tricks"; some references to Dominguín's mistress, Ava Gardner; and a fascinating paragraph on how penicillin has decreased the mortality rate of bullfighters. It is still a highly dangerous art, though; and in recent years Antonio Bienvenida and Paquirri have suffered fatal wounds.

The publisher exercised bad taste in allowing James Michener to judge, patronize, and endorse Hemingway in a boring, badly written, and ill-informed introduction. And the self-serving A. E. Hotchner, who appears in four of the photographs, is also inappropriately prominent. Hotchner, whose naïve questions in this book recall the tedious queries of the Old Lady in *Death in the Afternoon*, brought out the worst in Hemingway. It was most unusual for the novelist, who extolled the high art of the *corrida* and condemned the decadence of the modern bullfight, to mock the ritual by encouraging Hotchner to dress as a *torero* and walk in the *paseo* during the final Dominguín-Ordóñez fight at Ciudad Real.

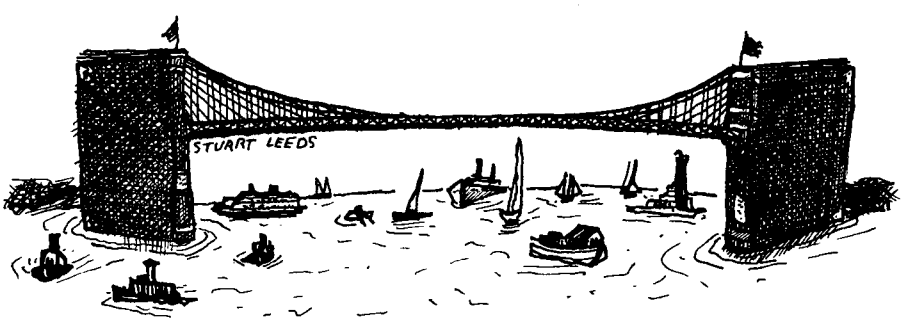
In this book Hemingway tells what they ate and how they felt and what the weather was like. He describes his host's grand house near Málaga, which was "a little smaller than the Escorial . . . but had no kings buried in it." He considers the Spanish character and customs, the wine and food, the cities and landscape. His observations of the countryside are as vivid as ever: "Fraga, a lovely old town, hung like a Tibetan city above the river . . ."; "Hawks were all out in the wild weather having a hard time . . . as the wind held the ground birds so close to cover . . ."; "I came to the cool, darkened house after driving through the July heat of New Castille with the hot wind from Africa blowing the chaff in the air from the threshing floors along the road."

The main focus of the book is on the muscles, nerves, reflexes, eyes, instinct, knowledge, courage, and grace in the presence of "a half-ton of charging animal with a deadly weapon on each side of his head." Ordóñez's father was the model for the bullfighter in *The Sun Also Rises*; and when Antonio (recovering from a wound) first met Hemingway in Pamplona in 1953, he said: "Sit down on the bed. Tell me. Am I as good as my father?" Ordóñez, who was like a son and inspired tenderness and awe, had everything that the aging Hemingway most admired. He was young, handsome, warm-hearted, manly, rich, and famous. He was the son of an old friend, had surpassed his father's greatness, and allowed Hemingway to recapture the spirit of his youth in Spain.

When I asked about Hemingway's bias toward Ordóñez, whom he usually described in superlatives, Dominguín bitterly replied: "He was grossly unfair. He mistakenly said that the best bulls were reserved for me; that I couldn't handle the wind; and many other things that he knew to be false." Ordóñez, however, justified Hemingway's attitude and told me: "A writer always praises and defends his true friends. Hemingway's main loyalty was to me, so he naturally tried to dramatize the conflict and diminish Dominguín."

Hemingway shrewdly noted that the matadors "would lunch in super-friendliness watching each other hopefully for any evidence of slowing down, new defects, uneasiness, or decay." Dominguín (who had been in the ring when Manolete was killed in Linares) insisted that by provoking and promoting Ordóñez, Hemingway deliberately transformed their harmless competition into a fanatical fight to the death.

Both men were seriously gored that summer: Dominguín in Valencia and Bilbao, Ordóñez in Aranjuez and Palma de Majorca. Hemingway—on the scene with the matadors in hotel, bullring, and hospital—describes how Antonio "fought not to let the pain humiliate him as it rose in force like a wind ascending the Beaufort scale." But Hemingway felt the rivalry "would only end with Luis Miguel dead or destroyed as a matador." As Antonio, during their three *mano a manos*, handled the cape like "the beautiful flow of water as it curves over the crest of a dam," masterfully severed the bulls' aortas and saw them drop as suddenly as if they had been shot, it seemed clear that he was the victor. *The Dangerous Summer* provides an insider's view based on extensive experience, mingles memory and desire, and is essential reading for anyone interested in the subject or the author. □



THE CONTINUING MYTH

Thomas P. McDonnell

Ralph Waldo Emerson: Days of Encounter, by John McAleer (Little, Brown, 748 pp., $27.40)

THE LEADERSHIP, administrative and pedagogical, of Yale University seems to be at odds over the question of Ralph Waldo Emerson's place in the continuum of the American experience. President A. Bartlett Giamatti and the highly esoteric critic Harold Bloom epitomize the two most polarized views of Emerson's meaning for us today: the one deploring the gentle Sage's elitist—almost fascist—concept of human power; and the other approvingly recognizing in Emerson the semblance of a gnostic icon for moderns.

John McAleer, professor of English at Boston College, has now come along

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to eschew such polarities in more than seven hundred pages of middle-ground popularization, seeing in Emerson a man among his fellow citizens, and, mainly in the placid ambiance of nineteenth-century Concord. Professor McAleer presents the social intercourse of Emerson with his friends, neighbors, and distinguished visitors as a series of "encounters," which in fact turn out to be nothing much more than the stuff of some very erudite Sunday-supplement reading.

These encounters, however, are not confined to Concord. There are chapters on Emerson's visits with such overseas worthies as Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Thomas Carlyle, and William Wordsworth. Though a few of the encounters deal with more or less ethereal or abstract events—like Emerson's various addresses and their shocking aftereffects in religious and intellectual circles—the meetings with otherwise interesting individuals seem to be of a domesticated and curiously benign nature. Some of these personages include the minor poet Jones Very, the future major novelist Henry James, and the always formidable Margaret Fuller. In keeping with this muted tone, McAleer on the Emerson-Whitman relationship is amazingly bland and devoid of even minimal exploration. If indeed McAleer's accounts are largely sound, then we can only conclude that Emerson seldom, if ever, made the most of his encounters with other human beings.

If there is one chapter in McAleer's book that illustrates its general failure to delve below the most superficial level, it is the chapter on the Sage's encounter with Nathaniel Hawthorne. This chapter deals chiefly with the two-day walking tour they took to visit the Shaker community at Harvard, Massachusetts, and with not much more than that. It is on such a tenuous thread that McAleer tries to weave the whole cloth of the relationship between Emerson and Hawthorne—an attempt that forces the casual reader only to wonder, wistfully, why the two men did not in fact turn out to be the very best of friends.

But the distance between Emerson and Hawthorne was something far more serious than a difference in personality types. It was a deep and unbridgeable gulf carved out by two men's utterly opposed views of the world. The gulf between them was not only philosophical in its substance but had also to do with how each writer, as such, perceived his own job of work. A certain cordiality between the two was no doubt sincerely attempted and delicately maintained. However, their essential difference remained as great as that between Emerson's gnostic vision of the "transparent eyeball" (experienced while crossing Boston Common one spring night) and Hawthorne's more painful knowledge of the darkest chambers of the human heart. McAleer seems conscious of none of this.

At this point, it is necessary to say that no one in the whole range of American literary criticism has explored more stunningly the relationship between Emerson's self-sufficient gnosticism and Hawthorne's shadowy consciousness of human evil than has Professor Marion Montgomery in his recently published *Why Hawthorne Was Melancholy* (Sherwood Sugden, 1984). In this work, Montgomery cites Flannery O'Connor's piercing observation: "When Emerson decided, in 1832, that he could no longer celebrate the Lord's Supper unless the bread and wine were removed, an important step in the vaporization of religion in America was taken, and the spirit of that step has continued apace." Unless and until we understand this, and all that follows from it, we shall have learned nothing about Emerson but the continuing myth of the gentle Sage of Concord.

So despite Professor McAleer's prodigious researches, he at last studiously avoids anything like this level of encounter. He hardly dares to think that on philosophical grounds, let alone as a source of inspiration, Emerson is largely unreadable today. In the end, Emerson's authentic reputation must rest on the fact that he is no doubt our greatest aphorist—as when, in short, his clearest and brightest sentences are separated from their more fatuous contexts. Otherwise, it was Emerson's major achievement to have set the nation's literary culture on an ill-fated course that has left in its wake both much debris and a few sublime artifacts (see, for example, Wallace Stevens) derived from some quintessentially absurd and sloppy thought.

The well-disposed reader will nevertheless grasp that it was Professor McAleer's intention to "humanize" Emerson for our time; but in romanticizing him instead, he has certified Emerson once again as the legitimate founder of the American school of neognosticism and implies approval of its continuingly pervasive, and pernicious effects. This seems at best an untoward enterprise for serious scholarship at this late hour. □

FICTION

AN OMEN OR THREE

D. Keith Mano

The Fifth Son, by Elie Wiesel (Summit, 220 pp., $15.95)

KILLERS ARE much more intriguing than their dead. As if they took not just life but energy and sustenance, too. We all die: it's a pretty passive, poor accomplishment. Murder, in contrast, must be active—and a clear, sensational repudiation of human law. Even JFK was almost eclipsed by the unfathomable Oswald. Commonplace dead (name one Richard Speck victim) don't get any billing. Add number to death, add six million, and you endow murder with eternal (if not necessarily helpful) fascination. Most Holocaust accounts are encumbered by the why of it. You can accept that Hitler and Eichmann were bad men—but their grotesqueness has never been given satisfactory diagnosis. The German people, moreover, acquiesced in horror, and no one can yet fit out a persuasive concept of national psychosis. Jews memorialize the Holocaust with rightful obsession in part, I think, because they're indignant at being upstaged by Hitler and his Reich. Intellectually we care more for assassin than for prey. That has to be the final insult. Martyrdom is a much overrated honor.

So with *The Fifth Son*. Wiesel's nameless first-person narrator is entranced to agony by Richard Lander, Nazi vivisector of Davarowsk ghetto. The reader has a similar, if less personal, response—and Jewish characters, unhappily, brown out by comparison. Ariel II (I'll call him), his father and mother express emotion through oblique gaze, silence, absence even. Other people—girlfriend Lisa, for one—seem perfunctory as a nodding acquaintance. Theme here is: "Chil-

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dren of survivors are almost as traumatized as the survivors themselves." Fair enough, and Wiesel has a decent style: honest, lucid, if over-abstract, *French* you might say (in translation by Marion Wiesel). But the whole disinvolves: imagery is either missing or tentative, except as it will approach Lander. Without the Holocaust background to supply dread resonance, these would be people of just moderate interest. You compensate for them, as, in friendship, you would compensate for someone with a serial number tattooed on his or her arm. *The Fifth Son* reads more like Biblical commentary than fiction.

Structure, too, has been misconceived. Wiesel withholds data as one would in a suspense-novel format. What secret is father stashing away from Ariel II? What drove mother mad? (She was shipped out, I suspect, because Wiesel found her presence inconvenient to the plot. Grounds for committal certainly.) You learn in time—and it isn't so surprising after all—that a younger son, Ariel, was tortured to death by Lander. This new, dead Ariel sucks spirit and identity from Ariel II: personae commingle. Guilt, of course, cross-fertilizes. Was it a desecration to generate another child in America? Has Ariel II been swindled of love by memory? Poignant dilemma, but, with so much information held back, the dead Ariel becomes just a daubed, sudden, insubstantial wraith. His murder doesn't support enough

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

SINCE ITS publication between boards in 1979 George Reisman's *The Government against the Economy* has become something of a classic among modern treatises on economics. It is now available in quality paperback, courtesy of Jameson Books (Ottawa, Ill. 61350), at the relatively hefty price of $9.95, in exchange for which sum you will receive one of the most lucidly elegant defenses of free-enterprise capitalism known to man.

"This book," Reisman begins, "is about the destructive effects of price controls"; which it is, in the sense that *Crime and Punishment* is about the destructive effects of reading bad philosophy. Accordingly, paragraph two begins: "This book is by no means merely a critique of price controls, however. It is also a positive exposition of the virtues of a free market." Still too modest: It is as if Dostoyevsky had written: "My book is also a positive exposition of the virtues of the Christian religion." In fact, *The Government against the Economy* is inclusive in a way that no simple declarative statement—let alone one by the author himself—can encompass.

As Mr. Reisman was adding the finishing touches to the first edition of his book, a new oil crisis appeared to be brewing, and President Carter's chief "inflation fighter," Alfred Kahn, was publicly ruminating upon the chances for mandatory wage and price controls: for the author, another sign that "the drift toward a totally controlled economic system continues." The prospect was—and is—not one that Reisman, for reasons he had just finished explaining, was inclined to view with equanimity. As a former student of Ludwig von Mises, he was well trained in the economic primacy of the price system. Indeed, it was his reasoned conviction that "The essential economic identity between socialism and universal price controls consists in the fact that *both of them destroy private ownership of the means of production and its offshoots, the profit motive and the price system*": or, to put it bluntly, "The most important principle to grasp about socialism is that *its economic consequences are essentially the same as those which result from universal price controls.*"

The observed tendency of the rate of profit toward uniformity (according to Reisman, the principle for which Adam Smith found the metaphor of the "invisible hand"), complemented by the harmony of interests between consumer and producer so fascinating to von Mises, at once creates and embodies a rational and coherent economic system "planned" by each one of its participants: a system possessing the utmost strength and resiliency when left to its own devices, but vulnerable as a spider web to impositions levied upon it, whether by Soviet ministers or American czars. As Reisman proves, you cannot have "limited" wage-price controls because the economy itself is virtually unlimited, the whole being susceptible to a set of laws that cannot be thwarted at one level while being allowed free play at the others. (For example: If you place a freeze on oil prices, then—unless you are willing to subsidize Exxon and its brothers indefinitely, making up to them each year the loss in revenue they have suffered—you must also freeze prices on the steel that is used in oilfield pipe, on motor vehicles used by the companies, and on other commodities, as well as the "price" placed on the value of oilfield workers' hourly labor.) The logic of price controls therefore requires, by iron law, their absolute extension to the remotest, most tenuous, and most minute reaches of an economic system, resulting in the alienation of property from its owners, which property is then placed under the control (a de facto form of ownership) of the political managers in accordance with the textbook definition of socialism.

It has been unfashionable since the palmy days of social Darwinism to speak of "organism," the preferred term having become the more mechanistic "system." Both of course are metaphors; and yet the complex that Reisman describes comes so close to being "natural" that one is tempted to relapse into nineteenth-century terminology. Reisman himself does not use the word; he does, however, seem to imply that capitalism is not just *an* economic system but *the* economic system —man's natural means of ordering his material life. For socialism, he argues,

> *is simply an act of destruction.* Like price controls, it destroys private ownership and the profit motive, and that is essentially *all* it does. It has nothing to put in its place. Socialism . . . is not actually an alternative economic system to private ownership of the means of production. It is merely a negation of the system based on private ownership.

And it is for that reason, as Reisman explains in two splendid concluding chapters, why it is *capitalism* that represents plan and *socialism* that represents chaos—as well as the tyranny that inevitably accompanies perversity on the grand scale. □

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weight (amid all those other murders), even though he is rather hastily spoken of as the "future of Davarowsk." Wiesel can't manage point of view well enough. He doesn't have the flexible ventriloquy of William Styron, say. Plot will out too slowly and, with it, also too slowly, a reader's emotional allegiance.

Yet this is the Holocaust and still provoking. Both father and son will make incompetent, near-frivolous attempts to execute Lander—even though revenge is clearly forbidden by Jewish law. Indeed, you sense that Lander has been written into the Talmud. Davarowsk Jews call him Angel or simply Death. One owning so much fatal power must come out of revelation, not the bourgeoisie. That would be exquisite terror: to suppose an ordinary man capable of such imposing evil. Worse, how can punishment, even capital, accommodate this crime? It would create a humiliating equation: Lander = 20,000 Jews. Ariel, head to head, can only inquire in awe, "How could you inflict such suffering without its leaving a mark on your face?" Lander is, in some real sense, beyond retribution, under special immunity. Such questions get asked of the Maker, not of middle-aging German men.

Ariel II, after this confrontation, will resolve that Lander "no longer held any real interest for me." Catharsis of a correct, if somewhat disquieting, kind. And so on to Bitburg. Whatever Reagan's political algebra, that wreath-laying, wraith-laying was more overdue than an 11-month pregnancy. We must never forget Auschwitz or Dachau. But it is about time we stopped celebrating —for our obsessive attention has done just that, celebrate—the murderers and their impenetrable sensibility. They are an enigma: one that will enfeeble us with puzzlement. They steal focus from their victims and numb compassion in curiosity. Worse, by associating the Holocaust with mysterious German quirks, we discount Cambodia, Gulag, Uganda. There is neither revenge nor adequate explanation. Just an omen or three learned. And some few safety measures to be taken. □

DELECTATIONS

PER ARDUA AD ASTRA

Nika Hazelton

ONE OF THE greatest changes I've seen during my lifetime concerns American attitudes toward food, drink, and health. (And, like everything else American, these changes will, before too long, affect the attitudes of the rest of the world.) Here in New York, at least, food and health have become sheer obsessions. People, even those who have other interests, will invariably talk about food, food, and food again, and what it does to them. "In" restaurants multiply like mushrooms after a rainstorm; the average lifetime of such restaurants, as the owner of one told me, is two years or less, or the time it takes to get at least one's investment back. Meanwhile, customers come not to eat, but to see and to be part of the scene, the same person told me, so why should owners bother unduly about the food—meaning, why bother at all? Food and health are to our time what sex and politics were to the Sixties. Small wonder that there is little time, if any, left for canoodling or for the wish to improve the world; however ill guided that wish may have been, at least it did consider somebody besides oneself.

I'm working on a menu cookbook, and have seen some 1,500 or so menus from restaurants all across the country. I was surprised to see that the true food manias—distinguished by exotic and frequently unsuitable food combinations, and by the desperate striving to be different, to the point of the outlandish—are basically New York and California phenomena. The big cities between the coasts all have their one, two, or several trendy eating places, but what most folks eat remains what it was before raspberry vinegar and *nouvelle* regional hit, although I agree that more fish and chicken are being consumed as compared to red meats. But what is different across the land is the physical get-up of the menus. My, how splendid they have become, with lots of special categories, such as Lite Eating, Vitamin-Packed, and so on, to make you think you're getting something more unusual than you really are.

As with clothes, there are different styles of menus, but the one thing they all have in common is the size. Menus nowadays resemble fashion models in being tall and on the stark, minimalist side, rather than displaying old-fashioned cuteness. White backgrounds are in, possibly because white paper is less expensive, and some menus are printed on laminated paper. Almost all menus explain what the dishes they mention consist of—a necessary feature considering the fancy names under which these dishes appear. For instance, Manhattan's very fancy Maurice gives you, for $27, "*Le saumon frais mariné au soja cuit à la vapeur et sa julienne de légumes,*" or, as printed in English below, "Steamed salmon marinated in soya sauce." It surprised me how carelessly many menus are proofread, especially those of some rather trendy and expensive New York Italian restaurants such as La Colonna, where I found four out of ten Italian dishes misspelt: this in a trendy and expensive Italian restaurant that prides itself on being Italian! What's more, I am constantly inundated with publicity releases about restaurants: Public-relations firms send them out, loudly and shamelessly praising their clients, and offering food writers free meals. Pfui!

In the wine world, meanwhile, the latest discovery is that wine and food are supposed to go together. California especially has latched on to the fact that the big bruisers, those overpow-

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ering brews the producers have been praising to the skies as "big," "complex," et cetera, are impossible to drink in a normal manner, that is, while eating. But now the cry for wine with food is up, as witness Julia Child's commercials for the California grape growers (though in all honesty I must say that Julia Child has always taken it for granted that people drink wine when they eat, as part of the meal). Wine publicists and wine writers are stressing the fact, and courses are given and books are written on how to match food and wine, which creates problems for the people who can afford the expensive California wines but who don't want to drink—or, for that matter, eat—because they want to stay thin and healthy. All this from a well-known food and wine advocate, who also pointed out to me the eating habits of America's power brokers. Power, he said, eats grilled fish and drinks mineral water—else there would be no Lite Eating, and *Time* magazine would not find it necessary to have mineral waters rated by food expert Mimi Sheraton. □

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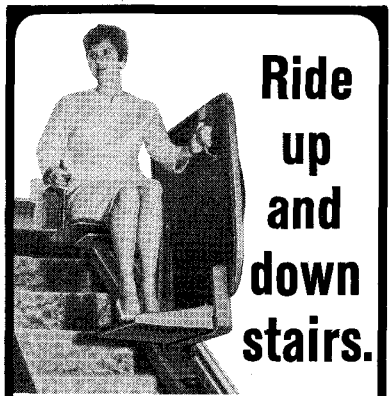

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Second Industrial Divide: Possibilities for Prosperity, by Michael J. Piore and Charles F. Sabel (Basic, 355 pp., $19.95)

WHILE THE 1981 recession spelled unemployment for auto and steel workers, it certainly increased job opportunities for intellectuals and would-be visionaries. Bookstores were suddenly bulging with radical prescriptions for our woes, from "industrial policy" to economic and Atari democracy. *The Second Industrial Divide*, written by two MacArthur Foundation award winners, is the latest entrant in the utopia stakes. Most of our economic difficulties, the authors contend, stem from a shift from "mass production" industries to ones characterized by "flexible specialization," i.e., small producers whose employees are craftsmen. As this shift occurs, emphasis will be put on innovation, involvement, and the development of stronger workforce skills; we will see the Second Industrial Divide. This is fine, so far as it goes. The fact that small businesses have certain advantages over larger ones has been much noted. But is this all that earth-shaking a revelation? While some "flexible" producers are doing well, certain "mass" ones, like IBM, haven't faltered—and producers such as the auto companies are using high technology and worker-involvement programs to ape the strengths of their smaller competitors. Is this a revolution, or just capitalism as usual? Piore and Sabel run into further problems when they try to hitch their leftist ideology to these trends. They claim that "flexible specialization" could promote a "yeoman democracy," in which craftsmen in regional industries would share training responsibilities and property rights for the good of the "community." Predictably, Piore and Sabel are vague on how this Hobbit socialism would work. Would people in our highly mobile society tie themselves to lifetime employment in regional industries? Would they shed their property rights for the welfare of "all"? Would businesses stand for this, or would they move to places like Hong Kong, where resources could be utilized freely? To grasp our economic future, Piore and Sabel tell us, we must be willing to "move backward and forward." But, as anyone who's watched football can attest, that's a strategy for standing still.

DAN DICKINSON

From Approximately Coast to Coast . . . It's the Bob and Ray Show, by Bob Elliott and Ray Goulding (Atheneum, 216 pp., $13.95)

BOB AND RAY, radio's answer to *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, have a new book out, a gentle, irresistible mixture of low-key surrealism and Perelmanesque satire minus the Yiddishisms, which is every bit as funny as their previous book, the 1975 *Write if You Get Work*. In this volume, Wally Ballou does an assortment of star turns, holding forth on such vital topics of the day as paper clips, the common man, and cameras in the courtroom; Harlowe P. Whitcomb, president and recording secretary of the Slow Talkers of America, lurches haltingly through a four-page interview; Edgar Fanshaw of the Ambiguous Signs Company discusses his unique new method for increasing city revenues; Rex Grippner of WVTV-TV in Baraboo, Wisconsin, camps out on the lawn of Buckingham Palace, resolving not to leave until Prince Charles comes out and grants him an exclusive royal interview. ("I know you're in there, Charlie! And the longer you hold out, the longer I'm gonna be.") One misses the familiar, ultra-dry delivery of Bob and Ray in person, but it isn't all that hard to reconstruct in the mind's ear; besides, it's almost as much fun to read these wonderful radio scripts out loud all by yourself.

TERRY TEACHOUT

LEJEUNE

(Continued from page 31)

—or at least the absence from high-profile events, whether a strike or a football match—of the old respectable working class, who would have been more shocked than anyone at the kind

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of behavior and language now taken for granted.

Various explanations are offered for the growth of a new, much nastier, "underclass," as some writers have called it. Unemployment and the decay of the inner cities are the most obvious: but the hardship caused by unemployment was far worse in the 1930s and nobody rioted at football matches then; inner-city decay in America has generated crime and race riots but not this type of senseless hooliganism. However deprived the rioters in Brussels may feel, they had plenty of money to get there and to get drunk.

Competitive football and the chauvinism associated with it have sparked violence all over the world, even in Communist China. But why are the British soccer hooligans so particularly and surprisingly unpleasant? Do they represent an evolutionary collapse, now that it has no role to play, of the famously calm, disciplined ethos that once ruled an empire? In Rome's declining days much the same phenomenon occurred among the factions at the chariot races. The wise and good Emperor Marcus Aurelius said that among the many things for which he was grateful to those who had brought him up was that they had taught him not to become too excited about spectator sports. □

GODSON

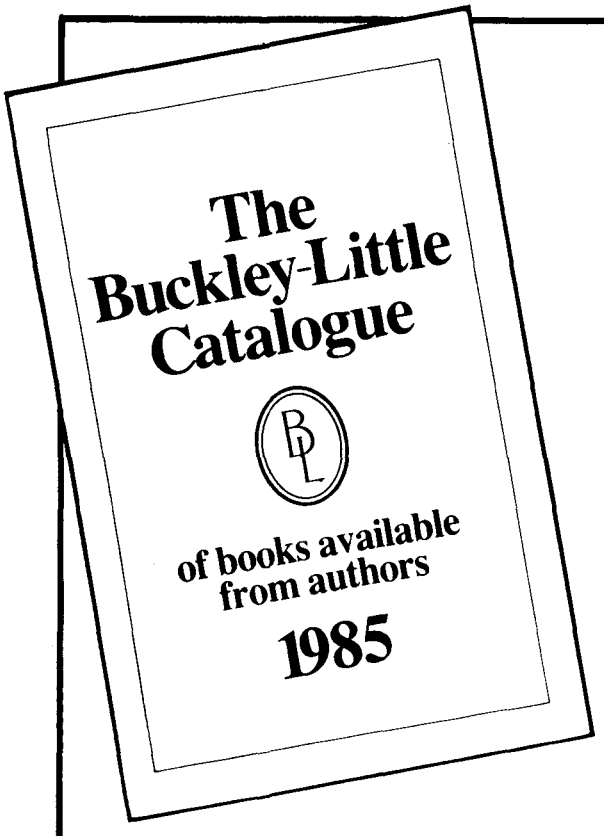
(Continued from page 42)

or single political tendency could have controlled the many hundreds of young people—even if they'd wanted to! It is a simple fact of political life that other democrats in the world do not share our views completely. We have even less chance to persuade them if we don't even try.

But it is clear from the final document and the enthusiasm and commitment of 95 per cent of the delegates, including many young conservatives (less the about 65 who walked out in the final hours of the conference), that Moscow and other dictatorships have much to fear, and the U.S. and the democratic world much to gain, if the young democratic leaders build on this initiative. Indeed the Soviet press described the declaration as being "of an anti-Soviet, anti-Communist, and militaristic nature." In a rare display of near unity with Moscow, *Human Events* observed that "what came out of Jamaica was a triumph for those opposed to global Communist domination."

Political prisms may distort the view, but they should not change the facts. Your correspondent Charles Kesler claims that among the 75-man American delegation, "hardly a single garden-variety Democrat or Young Democrat could be found" and that non-Republicans were represented by an "*outré* collection of leftist fringe groups." Either he did not acquaint himself with his fellow delegates, or he thinks that the elected president of the Young Democrats, and leaders of the College Democrats and the NAACP, fit that description. Further, he claimed that the conference was funded through USIA. It wasn't.

But the most unkindest cut was the false characterization of me, in the original editorial, as "a social democrat in the Willy Brandt sense of the term." I have never been a member of a socialist or social-democratic party. As *NR* stated in a subsequent issue, a chasm separates my views from those of the former German chancellor on INF and disarmament, Central American policy and the New International Economic Order, to mention just a few. As penance, your correspondents might be required to read my "collected works"—or, even worse, Willy Brandt's! □



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BETTER THAN NOTHING

NEW YORK, JUNE 7

IF IT WEREN'T that I am a permissive type, I would like to electrocute everyone who uses the word "fair" in connection with income-tax policies. Why? Because, you dimwit, there is nothing "fair" about a policy that taxes a person at a higher rate because he chooses to drive his taxicab sixty hours a week instead of forty hours a week. It is really just that simple, but of course redistributionist ideology not only taxes some Americans at a rate fifty times higher than other Americans, it insists that such programs be hailed as "fair." Even before Mr. Reagan made his speech, some of the commentators were talking about how the very rich stood to "profit" from the proposed tax reform, and the rest of the evening was devoted to vapidities on whether this provision or that provision was "fair," which is defined as politically acceptable.

If Mr. Reagan's proposals are enacted, Americans who earn less than $10,000 will contribute a grand total of 0.3 per cent of internal revenue. Americans who earn $30,000 or less will contribute 14.9 per cent of total internal revenue. Round that figure off to 15 per cent, and engrave it in the memory the next time you hear it said that Reagan is the agent of the rich. Americans who earn between $30,000 and $200,000 will pick up 70 per cent of the taxes. And the big big earners—more than $200,000—will pay 14.3 per cent of the taxes.

Now look at these figures in terms of numbers of people. Under the plan, 34 million earners will contribute 0.3 per cent of the taxes. The rich (more than $100,000) number 740,000 people, and will pay 47.6 times as much as the poor (under $10,000). But given that there are about fifty times as many poor as there are rich, it comes down, per capita, to paying about two thousand times as much in taxes. See what I mean about the ethical jumble?

Mr. Reagan's plan is worth supporting, if only because a) rates are lowered, never mind that individual returns may be higher after you run through lost deductions; and b) there are fewer gradations (three, instead of 14). But it is a philosophical paella; you bite into it and haven't any idea whether you've swallowed rice, lobster, octopus, snail, red tomato, or cucumber. "Corporations" are treated as Santa Claus, who comes down the chimney bearing gifts. There are three rates for businesses: again, that awful progressivity (why penalize a business for expanding?). And why does Mr. Reagan tell us that under his system there will be the urge to do more and better, when in fact by doing better, one climbs into a higher bracket? What he should have said was: When you reach the highest bracket (at $42,000 if you are single) then you don't have to worry about an increased rate of federal taxation. He might have added: As for what you have to pay in property taxes to your own city, or in city income taxes, or in state income taxes—well, you take that matter up with your local legislators; it's pretty much all I can do to handle the matter of your federal taxes.

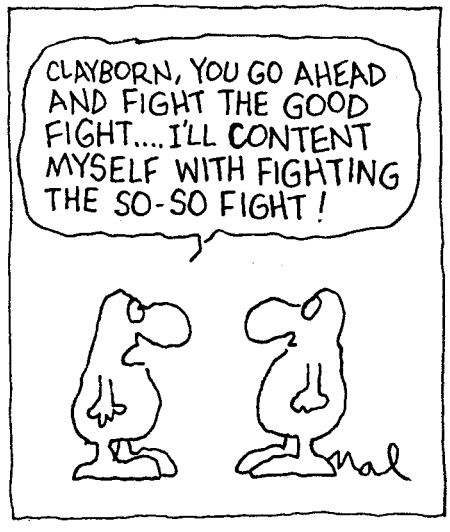
So, business will be left writing forms, deciding how much of that meal is deductible (none of it should be). Ten per cent of dividends will be deductible (why not 100 per cent?). Oil companies will continue to deduct intangible costs of drilling. Why? Because we want to encourage the oil companies. Well, isn't one way to encourage the oil companies not to tax them at all? Interest will not be deductible on loans, unless investment income plus $5,000 adds up to less than you are paying in interest (get it?).

It goes on and on. One-third of Americans, who do not find it profitable to itemize their deductions, will at least be spared the tedium of working out their forms. The IRS will simply send them a bill, or a refund, as appropriate. That much is good. A lot is good. One weeps only over the lost opportunity—to inject a little philosophical coherence into the whole thing; and this would have been valuable for Mr. Reagan to do even if it had been mangled by Congress.

Such as?

No taxes under the poverty level (on the contrary, subsidies, in some cases, but we're talking about tax policy, not welfare). No deductions except for the cost of doing business. No corporate tax. Twenty-five per cent top tax.

But it is better than what we have now. □



ON FEARING THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT

NEW YORK, JUNE 10

PASTOR Richard John Neuhaus is a very cool cat. He is a brilliant and learned writer and theologian, but he isn't going to let those awful weights keep him out of the public discussion. His book *The Naked Public Square* has had a considerable impact. It argued, in effect, the Reagan position of a year ago, namely, that in fact you cannot totally separate religion from politics because religion not only does, but must, inform politics at some very critical levels. But of course in siding with Reagan, one must never quite let it appear as though that were what one was doing, or, *zap!* there goes your audience, if it is liberal intellectuals you want to talk to. Accordingly, he finds searching and ingenious metaphors, among them precisely that "public square"—which is the agora of democracies. Where we talk to each other. Exchange opinions. Crystallize a consensus. It is Pastor Richard's point that that public square in which we meet to have those conversations simply can't be empty —of tradition, inherited insights: ideas and commandments associated with the divine order.

Now Pastor Richard has written a piece he calls "What the Fundamentalists Want." It appears in *Commentary* magazine, over

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which Norman Podhoretz has presided for 25 years, as important a tenure as any in the cultural history of this century. Pastor Richard has devastating points to make, but he makes them with a combination of geniality and icy intellectual trenchancy that leaves his opponents helpless on the floor: but not a bit mad, I would guess, at Pastor Richard, and to do that takes great skills.

What he does is examine the feverish opposition to the fundamentalists, which, even at the risk of simplification, we can think of as Norman Lear *v.* Jerry Falwell, the two embodying what is loosely thought of as the civil-rights movement versus the religious-Right movement.

What Pastor Richard explains is that for many years the assumption has been that the more educated you become, the less likely it is that you will believe in any religion. The high moment of that reading of American history came when Clarence Darrow routed William Jennings Bryan in a debate on fundamentalism, after which Bryan could think of nothing else to do but go off and die.

But a funny thing happened to religion on the way to desuetude, Pastor Richard points out. It not only didn't languish: It has become stronger than ever. A study by Theodore Caplow of the University of Virginia (*All Faithful People*) absolutely documents that religion is stronger in America today than it was one hundred years ago; not only documents this, but goes on to remark that religious leaders in America, as also their flocks, are far more tolerant of deviant thought (among the nonreligious) than they were at the time of Darrow-Bryan.

What is the meaning of this? Well at the very least, it is very good news for those who have been apprehensive about the threat of the theocratization of America.

But isn't it true that the religious Right has made some very loud and demanding noises?

Not quite the way to put it, says Pastor Richard soothingly. What has happened is that the religious Right has, in the words of Seymour Martin Lipset, engaged in an "aggressive defense" of traditional values, fighting back against the aggressive secularism of the Supreme Court and the Internal Revenue Service. Concretely, the American Coalition for Traditional Values wishes for "prayer and Bible reading in public schools, a 'pro-life' amendment (or some other instrument for overruling *Roe* v. *Wade*), legal restrictions on pornography, an end to state 'harassment' of Christian schools, resistance to feminist and gay-rights legislation, increased defense spending, and terminating social programs that, it is believed, only increase the dependency of the poor." And the author adds, "Even some of the committed opponents of the religious Right might concede that most, if not all, of these items are legitimate issues for debate in a democratic society."

Richard John Neuhaus does not deny that here and there the rhetoric is obnoxious. "But I do believe that those who compare our situation to that of the Weimar Republic or the religious Right to the Nazis have fallen victim to polemical heat prostration." A wonderful tonic for this disease is a thoughtful half-hour with Pastor Richard. □

SEE YOU LATER

HONOLULU, JUNE 14

FIVE YEARS AGO, setting out from Bermuda to the Azores on a sailboat, I advised friends and critics of this space that for the first time I would take two weeks' holiday at one time, instead of the customary one week at Christmas, the second in midsummer. The experience apparently entered my bloodstream because, however unremarked, there were growing within me seeds great and strong in effrontery, blossoming one month ago in outright contumacy. What happened one month ago ranks with the day that Oliver Twist held out his porridge plate to the Beadle and asked for "more."

I asked my editor for one month's leave.

It isn't exactly sloth. It is that a month ago I addressed myself to the question of how to transmit my wisdom from where I would be to Kansas City, home of Universal Press Syndicate. I will be on a sailboat wending my way through Micronesia, propelled by the trade winds. I shall be pausing only four times in a five-thousand-mile journey, at exotic atolls where telephones function irregularly. One of these atolls is unfriendly to visiting yachtsmen, allowing them to disembark only if wearing gas masks, because the island in question is one of the places where the Arsenal of Democracy, as we used to call what now goes by the name of the Military Industrial Complex, stores its toxic gases, manufactured back at Bitburg time in case the Axis powers decided to use poison gas against American troops. Evidently there are leaks from time to time from those old rusty tanks, so one goes about in gas masks. The prospect of telephoning in my instructions through a gas mask proved the conclusive argument, my spies tell me, for this unusual act of indulgence by my friendly editors, one of whom is said to have remarked, "He's hard enough to understand speaking through plain ether. I wouldn't want to listen to him through a gas mask."

And so it is that this is the final column. Final, that is, for four weeks, after which, if the Pacific is pacific, they will resume. And the Pacific Ocean, from north latitude twenty degrees in Honolulu, to south latitude five degrees in New Guinea, tends to dawdle pretty gently during the summer months, and if we have wind of a typhoon, we shall show it great respect. I do not believe in accosting natural irruptions under the rubric of mutual assured destruction.

To get out of the way of a storm whose location you have established requires of course that you know where you are. Well, I will have on board two secret instruments, one conceived by me, a second by a conglomerate of geniuses. This last permits the measurement of one-millionth of a second, and this translates, or will by the year 1989, into a little box that tells you where you are so exactly that you can double-park by following its instructions. The other is computer software that permits the navigator—which is me, a sometime columnist—to inform the computer where I think I am, within thirty miles, in which direction that star I just shot is, within thirty degrees, what second, minute, hour, and day it is in Greenwich, England, exactly how high up from the horizon it was—and lo! the heavens vouchsafe you the star's identity. The computer will say, "By Jove, that was Arcturus!" And you will know where you are.

Our preoccupations during this period will be with the nitty-gritty. Heat, for instance. We shall be hovering around the Equator, propelled by winds that come astern, as we travel at seven or eight knots. If the wind behind you is 16 miles per hour and you are moving forward eight miles per hour, the net impact of the wind on your back is a mere eight miles per hour. I have never measured the velocity of the wind from a house fan perched at the corner of a desk, as it used to be before God gave us air conditioning, but I would guess the wind comes out at twenty or thirty miles per hour, which is why the skin stays tolerably cool. It will be otherwise when the sun is more or less directly above you, the temperature is hour after hour in the high eighties, and your ocean fan dribbles out only one-third of the air you get from the electric fan. As though the motor had a speed marked, Extra Special Slow. In such moments, sailors dream less of wine, women, and song, than of Frigidaire.

Do such concerns get wished away, under the category of Problems of the Idle Rich? Well, the case can be made: Nobody forced me to sail from the United States to the East Indies. But it is the human way, to exert oneself every now and again, in eccentric enterprises. Yesterday I listened to a classmate describe his ascent of Everest, and wondered how it is that anyone should engage in madcappery: But then Dick Bass was taking risks I do not contemplate in my irenic passage with my son, and my friends, and books, and music, across the great Pacific Ocean. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

BIT OF an odd duck, they tell me. Thirty-year-old atheist, ex-professional, 50 miles north of NYC. Taciturn but friendly. Enjoy karate, reading, sunlight. Thrill-seekers need not respond. Write NR Box 4112.

CHARLOTTESVILLE male journalist, 25, 5'11", largely happy, needs only a good woman to bring me dangerously close to nirvana. Likes Reagan, *NR*, housework, pop music. Write NR Box 4113.

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

CNN Cans Daniel Schorr: Say Amen

I could see that things were not going well. They put on a *Crossfire* show with Pat Buchanan after he had been appointed at the White House. I protested about it, and I felt an enormous chill. I had the feeling I wasn't going to be there long.

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GORGEOUS FASHION MODEL/STUDENT, 21, from Tokyo—unmarried, unbitter, unbored—seeks never-married man who'd enjoy friendship or lasting relationship. I'm not a stereotype Japanese girl, but love sports, travel, piano, rock, fashion, and art. Am joyful and loyal to people I love. Are you a well-educated, open guy with humanist values, a good sense of humor, romantic, healthy, drug-free, handsome SWM who lives in San Francisco, LA, or NYC area? Photo/letter. Write NR Box 4111.

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TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. Wire or cable — 120 140 11 42 77 100 155 54

B. 1939 political campaign legislation (2 words) — 118 83 7 135 192 62 38 167

C. Beginning — 112 28 169 49 99 191

D. Lessen in severity — 53 75 187 40 91 132 108 18

E. This day was observed from 1918 to 1953 — 43 78 60 107 173 141 96 131 23

F. Cornfield denizen — 144 26 168 185 8 44 154 86 179

G. Young player's first ball field (2 words) — 74 109 56 182 82 174 30

H. This club sees only the favorable? — 171 195 130 21 58 105 88 45

I. A son of Michigan — 117 196 65 148 161 34 170 3 93

J. State Department post — 143 87 123 72 12

K. Rebellious archangel — 157 90 1 166 16 79 51

L. In a bottle, it can be most shocking! — 104 55 121 71 39 133 164 97 150

M. In complete agreement — 59 152 147 126 13 106 178 37 89

N. Result of a sprained ankle — 94 61 145 163 156 111 9 80

O. Process of gradual change — 149 22 122 180 73 103 57 2 172

P. Ten-dollar bill — 114 66 197 159 81 19 176

Q. Prophetic sign — 52 165 153 116

R. HEFT RING (anagram) — 17 125 137 63 98 10 151 177

S. Ma Barker was one — 92 134 76 183 6 110 31 190

T. Cause revulsion — 115 50 175 101 14 36

U. Lack consistency — 41 119 25 158

V. Green Mountain Boys' leader, to his friends — 64 95 136 186 29

W. Alpine river — 199 188 24 48 124

X. If your car breaks down, I hope it's not in the middle of this! — 102 47 67 146 15 32 160

Y. Prince's loyal yes-man — 127 46 194 5 70 162

Z. Distinguishing character of a culture — 189 84 142 27 68

a. This relative is nominated at many political conventions (2 words) — 113 193 69 85 139 184 4 35 129

b. Sitting Bull's sitting room (var.) — 20 128 181 33 198 138

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 64 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

■	■	■	■	1 K	2 O	3 I	4 a	5 Y	6 S	7 B	8 F	9 N	10 R	11 A	12 J	■	13 M
14 T	15 X	16 K	17 R	18 D	19 P	20 b	21 H	22 O	23 E	■	24 W	25 U	■	26 F	27 Z	28 C	29 V
30 G	31 S	32 X	33 b	34 I	35 a	36 T	37 M	38 B	39 L	40 D	41 U	42 A	■	43 E	44 F	45 H	46 Y
47 X	48 W	49 C	■	50 T	51 K	52 Q	53 D	■	54 A	55 L	56 G	57 O	58 H	59 M	60 E	61 N	62 B
63 R	64 V	■	65 I	66 P	67 X	68 Z	■	69 a	70 Y	■	71 L	72 J	73 O	74 G	75 D	76 S	77 A
■	78 E	79 K	80 N	81 P	82 G	83 B	84 Z	85 a	86 F	87 J	88 H	■	89 M	90 K	91 D	92 S	93 I
94 N	95 V	■	96 E	97 L	98 R	99 C	100A	101T	102X	103O	■	104L	105H	106M	107E	108D	109G
110S	111N	112C	113a	114P	■	115T	116Q	■	117I	118B	119U	120A	■	121L	122O	123J	124W
125R	126M	127Y	128b	129a	130H	■	131E	132D	133L	■	134S	135B	136V	137R	138b	139a	140A
■	141E	142Z	143J	144F	145N	■	146X	147M	148I	149O	■	150L	151R	152M	153Q	154F	155A
156N	157K	158U	■	159P	160X	161I	162Y	■	163N	164L	165Q	166K	167B	168F	169C	170I	171H
172O	173E	■	174G	175T	■	176P	177R	178M	179F	180O	181b	182G	183S	184a	■	185F	186V
187D	188W	189Z	190S	■	191C	192B	193a	194Y	■	195H	196I	197P	198b	199W	■	■	■

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